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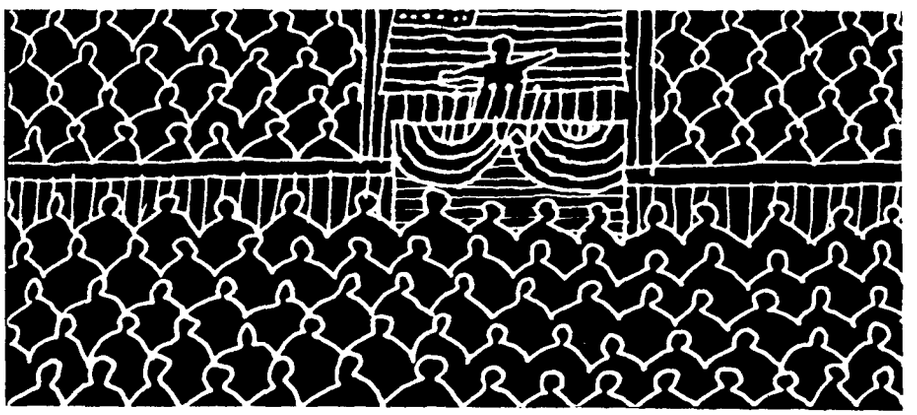
commonweal

HUMPHREY DUMPTY AND HOW HE GOT THERE

John Barber examines the Making of Hubertism



THE CASE FOR HHH

Paul Sigmund argues the Differences make a Difference

Latest thing in Witch Hunts (page 141) and in Irish Brawls (page 143) plus Reflections on the Church by Novak, on Biafra by Deutschman

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NEWS AND VIEWS

History will have the final say whether *National Catholic Reporter* has made a plus or minus contribution to the Church during the chaotic '60s. The best bet now is the assessment will be less Bishop Helmsing's (*NCR* has a "poisonous character") than it will be Donald McDonald's in the current *Critic* (*NCR* is "among the most important things that have happened in the American Catholic community in this century") and the *New Catholic Encyclopedia's* (*NCR* "has performed one of the great modern services to freedom in the Church"). *Plus,* in other words.

How then, this vilification of *NCR* by the local Ordinary and the disapproval of the paper by bishops generally? How, indeed?

One thing can be said with certainty: the *NCR* developments were predictable. The American bishops talk forever about freedom in the Catholic press and the honored place which the independent Catholic publication has in the Catholic press picture. Discount much of that talk. The controlled official press is the press with which the bishops are comfortable. A free press can send a bishop off like a Roman candle. It's ever been such.

It was such back in the last century when Orestes Brownson was publishing the *Quarterly Review*. By all historical evaluations, Brownson's *Review* was one of the truest mirrors on Catholic life of the day. But Brownson had to waste much of his career in Catholic publishing slugging it out with bishops. Disagreements with Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston forced him to move the *Review* from that city to New York. There Archbishop Hughes was watchdog, and we know the problem that he proved to be for Brownson and the *Review*.

Time improved nothing. When Bob Hoyt, back in 1949, sought to publish a national Catholic daily (the *Sun-Herald*) out of Chicago, he was ordered by the Chicago Chancery "under pain of sin" to suspend the attempt; if he persisted in "defiance" of the order, he was promised that "the paper would be denounced from every pulpit."

Join the club. *Commonweal's* been around since 1924, and much of its life has been lived under episcopal guns. A Pennsylvania bishop once proclaimed that *Commonweal* wasn't fit to be called a Catholic publication; a New Jersey bishop once denounced it for "ignorant, insolent and arrogant criticism of the bishops of the country," and a California bishop scored it for allegedly trying "to tell the Church what it should be teaching."

Yet there's a big difference between virtually every past tension and the *NCR's* today. Episcopal objection has escalated from obstruction, denunciation and angry criticism to specific condemnation—wild, wild, wild—and talk about excommunication.

'But,' you say, 'that's only one bishop —Helmsing of Kansas City.'

It is and it isn't. The manner in which the press announcement was handled furnishes the clue that in condemning the *NCR* it wasn't one bishop acting alone. A press release and the full text of the condemnation were processed through the U.S. bishops' bureau of information at U.S. Catholic Conference headquarters in Washington.

That says a thing or three.

The *NCR* people, from Hoyt down, learned of the condemnation from a story in the *Kansas City Star*.

•

Current Church controversies have buried one pleasant Catholic concept.

Remember when churchmen used to speak of conscience and exalt Thomas à Becket, Thomas More and Joan of Arc—especially Joan of Arc—as exemplars of the Catholic tradition on rights of conscience? Remember all the lectures and sermons?

Then the witness of conscience was huzzahed unqualifiedly.

Today the majority of churchmen speaking to the question of conscience sound for all the world like Henrys or, more particularly, Cauchons.

"Because conscience is a human and fallible judgment," says Cardinal O'Boyle, "it needs to be instructed and sometimes even corrected."

His voice finds its echo in the loftiest of places.

Father Pietro Ciappi, O.P., theologian to the papal household, wrote last month in an article published at Vatican City: it is wrong to "believe in 'the primacy of conscience' . . ." Ciappi added: "Conscience must be illuminated and ruled by the teaching of the Church."

Of course the qualifiers are entered, but they ring of rationalization. In the making is a marvelously ironic footnote to history.

•

Another legal headache for Selective Service chieftains—this one perhaps the most novel of all.

Mrs. Evelyn Whitehorn of Palo Alto appeared before Draft Board 62 in San Jose on Oct. 21 and announced that she was refusing to allow her son Erik, 18, to be registered.

She noted that, as a minor, son Erik cannot own property, cannot get married without her permission, cannot sign a contract, cannot vote; as Erik's mother, she announced that she is withholding permission for him to register.

Mrs. Whitehorn's second grounds: she knows from his personal convictions that Erik would not accept induction; thus to give him permission to register would be to set the stage for an action that could result in his criminal prosecution. As a parent, she argued that she has a responsibility not to place an offspring who is legally under age in such a situation.

Mrs. Whitehorn stated further that any punitive action for Erik's not registering should be directed at her as guardian of an under-age son.

Thus is a challenge joined between parental authority and legal power of government. The courts (if the challenge reaches that far) may view the whole business as a stunt, an exercise in legal gymnastics. But Mrs. Whitehorn does raise some interesting points.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

A Professor Replies

New York

To the Editors: Mr. Leonard Kriegel writes in his piece "Professors as Bonus Babies" (October 4) that "Schlesinger's appointment as Schweitzer Professor . . . brings with it a combined salary and expense account of $100,000 per year." If this statement implies to anyone that the holders of Schweitzer chairs receive $100,000 a year for their personal use, it is grossly misleading. My salary under the Schweitzer chair is $32,000 a year —a generous but by no means uncommon academic salary. The rest of the money annually assigned the chair goes for visiting lecturers, conferences, seminars, library purchases, scholarly periodicals and so on as well as for the expenses of my office. Among those whom Schweitzer funds have brought to the City University in the past two years have been Morton G. White, Marcus Cunliffe, Elting Morison, Nicolas Nabokov, Herbert Feis, Walter La Feber, Lord David Cecil, Philip Mosely, John Bartlow Martin, Adolf Berle and other scholars and writers.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

'Execrable Taste'

Convent Station, N.J.

To the Editors: I do not take issue with your right to publish views dissenting from that of the Holy Father, but with the execrable taste which would permit you to use the name of Christ (in whose name, I believe, you publish your magazine) as an expression of profanity and ill-temper in the "News and Views" column, and to give public expression to the vilifying personal attack on Pope Paul by Mr. Lawler. . . .

There are several other points which I could not conscientiously set aside without comment:

1. Is it not somewhat lacking in intellectual integrity to invite comments only from those who are known to disagree with the Pope? Surely the other

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THE FUTURE OF A MOVEMENT

The *National Catholic Reporter's* board of directors is correct, of course, in its affirmation of the rights of the unofficial, independent religious publication, and it is correct, too, in seeing religious journalism "as the format through which probing, experiment, and the expression of unofficial opinion can occur." But all that goes without saying, and to dwell on those facts resolves nothing and clarifies little of the Bishop Helmsing-*NCR* tension, which reached a climax when Bishop Helmsing condemned the paper publicly and suggested that some of its staff members and contributors are close to incurring automatic excommunication.

Nor do the defenses of *NCR*, now piling up, have great bearing on the case. It is interesting to note how people and publications feel about the recriminations directed at *NCR* by the bishop whose geographical situation, according to the "system," invests him with prerogative to anathematize; but *NCR* needs no defense, really. Indeed, to enter defense of *NCR* is to dignify charges that have tenuous legitimacy and then only by an ecclesiastical mode which is pretty generally in disrepute. In other words, to defend *NCR* is to play the game by the old rules, and the old rules do not apply any more. Understandably, *NCR* does not seem anxious to play that game. Its response, initially at least, is to treat the tension as a journalistic matter. This might be somewhat arch, but it is a wise tactic. By the old rules, the cards are stacked against a publication like *NCR;* better to bypass them.

For related reasons, the Catholic Press Association's offer to mediate the Helmsing-*NCR* conflict, well-intentioned though it may be, is a quixotic gesture. There are reams of difficulties to be worked out on both sides, but mediation under terms the CPA would likely introduce, and Bishop Helmsing would likely agree to, would hardly get beyond peripheral issues. Bishop Helmsing and the *NCR* are philosophies apart and represent traditions too

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much at variance to be reconciled by any standard code. In a sense, each epitomizes the principal paradigms operative in the Church—the conventional ecclesiasticism of coherent development within an accepted framework, with the bishops as final arbiters, and the new theological dynamics by which it is legitimate for Catholics to probe and question the most fundamental dogmas of belief, with reason and experience the arbiters. The distances between these paradigms will be narrowed by history before they will be by neat formulae or convenient management of tensions.

Most certainly the conflicting elements will not be reconciled by the repressions on which the Helmsings seem bent. By the same token, they will not be reconciled by liberals converting conservatives, or conservatives converting liberals. To expect so is to deal in the realm of the miraculous, and the day of miracles is past. The tension will be resolved by the side which ultimately gives the greater testimony of what it is to be Christian, people, in a word, who are in the stronger currents of an evolving Catholicism. For Catholicism, whatever it claims of the divine, is also a human institution and thus, in the fashion of other human institutions, it too experiences evolution.

There is little point in playing guessing games on what history holds in store in this regard. But it may be instructive to note that an evolving history has almost invariably favored liberalizing forces, particularly when the question has been one of freedom. And freedom, of course, is the essential question in the *NCR* tension. Not freedom of the press *per se*; that question was settled long ago, even, theoretically, as it pertains to the Catholic press—but the whole notion of "Catholic freedom" as this relates to belief generally. At issue, substantively, is a new theological style, more sweeping and free-wheeling than anything Catholicism has seen perhaps since the Reformation.

History, as we indicated, will work out the details of this evolution. But what about the immediate practicality of the welfare of the *NCR*? It is fine to palm the Helmsing-*NCR* tension off to history, but *NCR* in the meantime *must* survive, and *NCR*'s future cannot, unfortunately, be taken for granted. With some 25 percent of its circulation being bulk sales in the backs of churches, *NCR* is vulnerable to an economic squeeze. Bishops and pastors are not unaware of this, and the temptation may be strong among some to slap an economic boycott on the paper. They should not be allowed to get away with it. Catholics and sympathetic neighbors should stand ready in such an eventuality to come to the aid of the *NCR*—by protest and counter-boycott maybe, but also by providing new subscriptions and financial help. For what is at stake in all this is more than the future of a newspaper, but the many-faceted development of freedom in the Church, in the U.S. and elsewhere. *NCR* and what it represents are too vital to be allowed to become sacrifices.

NOT IN THE BOOTH

Item: The Business Council has decided that inflation is the most urgent American problem. "The business executives," according to the *New York Times,* "are willing to see a substantial rise in unemployment as the price of bringing inflation under control." Generous of them.

Item: Looked upon several years ago as an example of revitalized unionism, the United Federation of Teachers is locked in conflict with the black school board of Ocean Hill-Brownsville. New York's children are still out of school as November approaches. Anti-semitism rears its head among Negroes, and the union terms black militants "Nazi types."

These two examples could be replaced by a dozen others. In every case, the same two factors are revealed: the blind conservatism, not simply of Wallacites, but of the corporate Establishment (which will be elected with Richard Nixon); the bitter divisions—especially over foreign policy and the urban crisis—within the "New Deal coalition" (which will be elected with Humphrey).

A contributor writes us that a friend is voting for Dick Gregory rather than Eldridge Cleaver because Gregory has the better chance to win. All reasoning about the election sounds like that. John C. Bennett, Reinhold Niebuhr, the editors of *The Christian Century* and *Christianity and Crisis* have opted for Humphrey. *The New Republic* declares "the only vote we can cast for the top of the ticket is a vote of no confidence." Vote for the castastrophe of your choice, someone put it. We concur. Universities, unions, ghettos, churches must be stirred into sources of political energy; there is important work to do. Unfortunately, little of it can be done in the polling booth.

FUTURE OF THE DEACON

It seems a long time ago that the Fathers of the Second Vatican Council recommended the restoration of the permanent diaconate. This is true both in terms of time and in terms of events; in the light of all that has taken place in the Church since those Council days, the return of the deacon on the religious scene may strike many as less than earth-shaking. Nonetheless, it has—or can have—significance.

For a long time, of course, the diaconate has been merely a stage on the way to the priesthood. The present move restores it as a permanent order in the Church, as it was, for example, when St. Francis of Assisi was a deacon. Establishment is not automatic; each local bishop will be allowed to decide whether the permanent diaconate will be set up in his diocese. Married men "of mature years" may be included, and a number have already been ordained in other countries, but an unmarried deacon may not marry after ordination and a married deacon

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who becomes a widower will not be allowed to re-marry. While it is permissible for deacons to be ordained at age 25, the American bishops have decided that in the beginning, at least, all candidates must be at least 35 years old, whether married or unmarried.

In general, the duties deacons are assigned will depend on local needs. In the United States, for example, it is thought that deacons will be particularly valuable in those areas of the South and West where the Catholic population is small and priests are widely scattered. Thus Religious News Service pointed out that there are currently 671 counties and an estimated 5000 towns in the U.S. without resident priests. Deacons cannot celebrate Mass or hear confessions; they can administer Baptism, distribute Holy Communion, officiate at weddings and funerals, preside at worship services, and in the early Church they took a prominent part in charitable works. The diaconate can be exercised on either a full- or part-time basis, and it would seem a natural for those hundreds of priests who have left the active ministry in order to marry; so far, however, the hierarchy is adamant in refusing all suggestions for the employment of such men in the diaconate.

How much impact will the restoration of the permanent diaconate in the United States have? In the short range, very little, we would guess, unless the bishops change their minds about using married priests, except in those sparsely priested areas where simply having an ordained man more easily available for a wedding or a funeral will be most welcome. In the longer run, everything will depend on the imagination with which deacons are used. Consider the possibility of using many full- or part-time deacons to dramatically increase our expression of Christian concern in the ghetto; of bringing bible vigils and similar worship services to homes all over our huge metropolitan parishes; of carrying out competent adult education and CCD programs; of going in force into our almost abandoned prisons and reformatories; of leading neighborhood-by-neighborhood and block-by-block ecumenical activities; tasks like these seem to us potentially most valuable, and also most calculated to attract to the diaconate able and zealous candidates. One thing we are sure of: if deacons are relegated simply to such exciting tasks as counting the Sunday collection or supervising the parish janitorial services, the impact of the restored diaconate on the American Church will be almost nil.

This week we welcome Peter Steinfels back to active duty after a year in Paris, while at the same time bidding farewell and extending our thanks to Oona Sullivan, who served as Associate Editor during his absence.

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NEW LOOK IN WITCH HUNTS

ROBBING HUAC OF ITS GOOD NAME

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has lost three of its first-stringers to retirement, death, and the Louisiana Democratic primary. If the Democrats retain control of the House, the new chairman will be Richard Ichord (D-Mo.), a relative moderate who was entrusted with the HUAC subcommittee which held three days of "investigative hearings" in October on the Chicago convention week disturbances.

The seven hostile witnesses subpoenaed to appear were in themselves a microcosm of the new left's recent evolution—from militant Dave Dellinger, a pacifist, to Robert Greenblatt of the teach-ins and the Mobilization, through Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis to Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman of the Yippies.

From the first session, when guards at the door gently stripped Jerry Rubin of two live ammunition belts (but let him keep his toy M-16 rifle, Viet Cong flag and cowbells which softly tinkled throughout the hearing), Ichord endeavored to be decorous and fair. It didn't work. The battery of attorneys repeatedly bobbed up and down with points of order, which as Ichord repeatedly and patiently explained, were out of order by definition, since "this is not an adversary proceeding; nobody is on trial; attorneys may only advise their clients."

But Ichord more often than not heard the attorneys out, although their objections ranged from the dilatory to the burlesque. The technique, however, served the defense well. Defense motions included requests that Committee members from districts where Negroes could not vote disqualify themselves; that cross-examination of friendly witnesses be permitted; that areas of questioning which might prejudice pending criminal cases be avoided. Abbie Hoffman, at one point, solemnly rose to ask permission to go to the bathroom. Ichord, with equal seriousness, explained the rights of witness to enter and leave the hearing room.

As a result of the new approach of dignity, gravity and courtesy, the HUAC performance was converted from an inquisition to a put-on. The Committee's star friendly witness, Robert Pierson, added to the sense of self-parody. Pierson, a Chicago civilian investigator working with police, had infiltrated a motorcycle gang, the Headhunters, which "was planning to blow up the ball park." Much of Pierson's testimony was a discussion of the Headhunters. On the basis of a somewhat tenuous link between some fringe Headhunters and marginal Yippies—"self-admit-

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ted members," according to Pierson of the (non-existent) Youth International Party—Pierson was able to gain the confidence of Jerry Rubin and other notables of the demonstrations. Pierson told the Committee that Rubin had plans to kill all of the major candidates and that a Yippie assembly line at Grant Park was halving Oreo-creme sandwiches, sprinkling them with LSD, and passing them out to unsuspecting youths. He knew it was LSD, Pierson said, because the Yippies had "admitted" it themselves. All of this was duly noted.

If the Committee's total lack of humor rendered it vulnerable to the Yippie style of put-on, it was even more vulnerable to an excess of earnestness. Quentin Young of the Medical Committee for Human Rights, though he indignantly refused to answer the Committee's questions about Communist Party affiliation, was more than cooperative. (Young later told reporters that he was not a Communist.) The Medical Committee provided first aid to demonstrators and police alike during convention week. HUAC sought to link it to other movement groups, but Young was more than willing to take the opportunity to plug his group. When he felt that the questions were getting off the track, he would gently admonish Ichord. His gentlemanly demeanor badly beat Ichord at his own game. At one point Ichord gave him permission to read into the record a testimonial to him from the Student American Medical Association. The dialogue continued thus:

Young: Thank you sir, that is very fair.

Ichord: I appreciate that; that is the first time in my recollection that any witness has called this Committee fair.

Young: You were fair that time, sir.

So it went. What with points of order and the chivalry, there was time only for two hostile witnesses, Young and Greenblatt. The cabaret will resume in December, when, presumably, the staff aide who thought to subpoena Quentin Young will have lost his job, and Ichord some of his chivalry.

HUAC is bent on modernizing itself. With honest to goodness subversion being shouted from the housetops, it wants—to use the most nauseating of the currently fashionable political slogans—a piece of the action. As part of the modernization, it is seeking to broaden its mandate and change its name to the House Committee on Internal Security. The right wing is not at all amused. At one point, The Manion Forum and Billy James Hargis got their signals crossed and thought the name-change had originated with HUAC opponents. Let Freedom Ring referred to it as a "liberal-left plot," and Congressmen began puzzling over a flood of mail indignantly opposing the change of name.

This summer, when Ichord introduced House Resolution 148 to change the name and mandate, two problems were at issue. Joe Pool, now deceased, was in line for the chairmanship, which would have made HUAC even more vulnerable to the critics. Willis, the full committee's present chairman was aging, and has since been forcibly retired by a primary opponent. A new Committee could have passed on Pool for chairman. In addition, there was the Stamler case, quietly working its way through the courts, which presents a Constitutional challenge to HUAC's present mandate. Hence the attempted face-lifting. Last July, Representative John Ashbrook, ranking Republican on the Committee and probably the most conservative member of House, took the floor to reassure the Committee's usual friends to *his* right. Speaking of H. Res 148, Ashbrook told his colleagues: "There has been widespread misunderstanding about this bill's intent and an undue apprehension from many of the Committee's ardent supporters. . . . It has been suggested that if H. Res 148 passes, seniority on the Committee will be abolished, and it will be constituted with new members. If I thought this I would obviously not support the bill." As if to wrap the matter up, Ashbrook said: "No liberal I know has supported the bill."

Of course no liberal has, but not because liberals are particularly sentimental about HUAC's old style. Much of the right-wing opposition seems to have originated with Joe Pool to protect his access to the coveted chairmanship. With Pool and Willis gone, Ichord has already begun HUAC's modernization, even while the old name endures.

The Stamler case, meanwhile, has reached the Supreme Court. It began in May, 1965, when HUAC's Chicago hearings were so transparently aimed at smearing prominent citizens, notably Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, a respected physician and health official, that the Chicago *Daily News* termed the hearings "a disgrace from start to finish." Stamler, however, threw the Committee a curve which has left it blinking. Citing the Dombrowski case of April, 1965, in which the Supreme Court held that where First Amendment rights are involved an aggrieved party has the right to sue for redress *before the damage is done,* Stamler and his associates announced to the startled Committee that they would put the subpoenas in their pockets and await the results of a suit they were bringing to determine the Constitutionality of the Committee's mandate, which they contend has been used as a device to stifle basic First Amendment guarantees. Whereupon they left the hearing room.

For the first time in a HUAC court case, it is not a smeared citizen who is the defendant as the result of a contempt citation; it is rather the Committee itself which is on trial, juridically as well as symbolically. The Circuit Court of Appeals of the Seventh Circuit ordered a three-judge panel to hear the question of the Constitutionality of HUAC's mandate. On Nov. 8, 1967, the panel unanimously rejected the Government's motion to dismiss, on the ground that the Supreme Court has held in the *Gojack* case that despite earlier contempt convictions, the issue of HUAC's Constitutionality has not been finally resolved.

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Last June 26 the three-judge panel, by a vote of two to one, dismissed Stamler's complaint. Rather than weighing the issue of HUAC's record on its merits, the majority simply ruled that the speech and debate clause of the Constitution (which provides that "for any speech or debate in either House, [the Members of Congress] shall not be questioned in any other place") "outweighs the similar protection of the First Amendment." Judge Walter J. Cummings, in dissent, cited a long series of decisions and historical precedents to demonstrate that the speech and debate clause was intended only to protect legislators from criminal charges of libel or slander, and not to permit the stifling of free speech. "Its purpose should not be subverted by employing it to deny relief to these Plaintiffs," he wrote.

Thus there is now pending before the Supreme Court a challenge to the fundamental Constitutionality of the House Un-American Activities Committee. But the appeal is called into question if the defendant in the case no longer exists, which would be the result of its reconstitution as a new Committee. This is certainly one purpose of the move to rob HUAC of its good name.

It can also be argued, however, that the broader mandate of a new Committee on Internal Security would be an even greater Constitutional travesty than its predecessor, and that any claim to newness would be a legal fiction. Nevertheless, Stamler's attorneys, members of a venerable Chicago Republican law firm, would prefer to take on HUAC in its original form.

H. Res 148 never reached the floor of the 90th Congress. Although cleared by the Rules Committee, it got lost in the adjournment rush. The leadership was also reluctant to offend the Judiciary Committee, where HUAC's plan is regarded as an intrusion upon its jurisdiction over internal security legislation.

But the issue will probably reappear next January. A name change would complement Rep. Ichord's "new look." This is all the more reason for defeating it. As one liberal Congressman put it, with Willis, Tuck and Pool gone, HUAC is more than ever a front for (Staff Director) Francis McNamara's spies. Changing its name would only enhance its legitimacy—and its scope. Regardless of the outcome of the Stamler case, the House leadership would do well to recognize this, and end its toleration of HUAC—under whatever name—once and for all.

ROBERT KUTTNER

(Robert Kuttner is head of the Washington bureau of radio station WBAI.)

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LONDONDERRY AIR

CATHOLICS TAKE TO THE STREETS

Northern Ireland, one of the traditional cockpits of Irish political life, is once again the center of a seething mass of civil disorder whose repercussions are being felt in Dublin and—more importantly—in London. This time, however, the focus of discontent is in many ways a new and more powerful one: civil rights. Since the early years of this century, it has been the more or less declared policy of the ruling Unionist establishment to keep Northern Catholics and Protestants at each other's throats. It is a policy in which many of the Nationalist (i.e., Catholic) leaders have to some extent acquiesced. Both groups, at heart, fear the loss of political power which might accompany a sudden *détente*. This was never more clearly shown than during the early thirties: in 1930 and 1931, Protestant and Catholic workers were walking together through the streets of Belfast under banners proclaiming "We Want Bread." Less than five years later, they were, largely as a result of provocation by their leaders, again exchanging volleys of the paving-stones that have come to be known as "Belfast confetti."

What happened in Derry (Londonderry, to loyalists) on Oct. 5 marks a significant break with this pattern. This ancient city symbolizes, for the Orange-Protestant majority in Northern Ireland, their totemistic resistance to the forces of Rome and Irish nationalism, due to its heroic stand in 1689 against King James's besieging forces. The problem is that the city has a large Nationalist (i.e., Catholic) majority: to maintain the totem in an upright position, a system of careful gerrymandering has ensured, since 1936, that the city has remained in the control of its Unionist minority. The ultimate justification for this, as uttered by a Government spokesman in 1945, is that "the best way to prevent the overthrow of the government by people who have no stake in the country and have not the welfare of Ulster at heart is to disfranchise them." This endearingly honest statement does not, however, reveal the full state of affairs: since local election suffrage is on a property basis, there is discrimination against Nationalists in public housing programs. Regional economic development is heavily concentrated elsewhere, leading to massive male unemployment, several times the average for the province as a whole. Cut off by the Border from its largely Nationalist hinterland, Derry has for decades been a prime example of bad community relations. Its frustrations have now come to the boil.

This is the context in which the nationally-organized but Northern Ireland-based Civil Rights Association planned a march to the Guildhall to protest against discrimination. Almost at the last moment, the Apprentice

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Boys of Derry—an Orange-style arm of the local Unionist establishment—announced that they too would hold a march over the same route. The Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. William Craig, reacted promptly by banning both. The Civil Rights Association, suspecting—and not without reason—that this was what the Apprentice Boys had hoped for, went ahead with their march as planned. They were met in a narrow street, not by a raving Protestant mob, but by cohorts of the Royal Ulster Constabulary who, in ten minutes of sickening and largely unprovoked violence, did more to unify popular opposition to the Stormont government than decades of flag-waving have been able to accomplish. The last-minute participation in the march of Mr. Eddie McAteer, leader of the Nationalist Opposition in the Stormont House of Commons, marked another and equally significant gesture of commitment. On a further level, the participation of Mr. Gerry Fitt, the Republican Labor M.P. who holds seats both at Stormont and at Westminster, actively involved the Mother of Parliaments herself in what was happening. When he was led away to a police van with blood streaming from a scalp wound, under the eyes of three more Labor T.D.'s from Westminster—one a veteran of Chicago—it was obvious that what had taken place was only the first act in what may well be a long drawn-out drama.

Important developments are also taking place in Belfast itself, where the students of Queen's University (an institution which in the past has all too faithfully mirrored the divisions of the society within which it is situated) have also embarked on a prolonged and intensive civil rights campaign on a completely interdenominational basis. Here, too, the opposing tactics are similar: for every march that the students announce, the Rev. Ian Paisley, the extremist leader of the so-called Free Presbyterian Church (in fact a splinter-group of Baptist origin) announces another one over the same ground. One potentially disastrous confrontation has already been avoided by moderation on the part of the students, who abandoned a march when it was clear that bloodshed would be the only outcome, but this pattern may not be maintained.

Mr. Craig is attempting to write the whole thing off as a campaign by provocateurs from the Communist Party and the Irish Republican Army. Elements of both are involved, it is true, but the reality is much more solidly based. This has been clearly acknowledged by several leading churchmen, not least by the Rev. J. H. Withers, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, who noted bluntly: "Passions do not normally boil over without some cause and this must be ruthlessly faced by Christian men, whatever the cost." Mr. Withers also joined the leaders of the Methodist Church in Ireland and of the (Anglican) Church of Ireland in a short statement to appeal for "a period of civic calm in which every man may examine his conscience as to the implications of recent events and pray that a state of peace and communal harmony may speedily be restored." Cardinal Conway, for his part, appealed to the government not to make the mistake of seeing recent happenings in purely political terms. The immediate causes of these events, he underlined, were social: they had grown out of the frustration of ordinary people who wanted houses, a fair chance to a job, and equitable representation.

Cardinal Conway's words will be discounted by Northern leaders whose traditional fear of Rome has become part of their political creed: they cannot so easily spurn the attentions of Mr. Wilson's government, which is ultimately responsible, under the Government of Ireland Act, for Northern Ireland, and which has been under increasing pressure to do something about a situation that is becoming intolerable. In the past, there has been a gentleman's agreement that Westminster does not interfere with Stormont: equally, Nationalist political strategy has traditionally been based on a fruitless attempt to make the Unionist establishment change its mind. The focus of attention has now been radically altered by Mr. Wilson's invitation to the Northern Premier, Captain Terence O'Neill, to meet him to discuss the issue. In the meantime, the likelihood is that a campaign of deliberate, non-violent protest, even including the breaking of the law, will become more widespread. One of the factors in favor of such a campaign, as Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien has pointed out, is that Northern Ireland, like the American South, is a sub-area, with real power lying elsewhere—in this case in London. And "civil rights" is a compelling watchword.

JOHN HORGAN

(John Hogan, staff-writer at the Irish Times *and commentator on Telefis Eireann, is a regular contributor.)*

HOLY SPIRIT ISSUE

Next week's issue—*Commonweal Papers III*—will be entirely devoted to the subject of the Holy Spirit. Like our previous *Commonweal Papers* on God and Jesus, *Commonweal Papers III* will be comprehensive in nature (see page 166) and of book-length. Advance bulk orders for this issue are invited.

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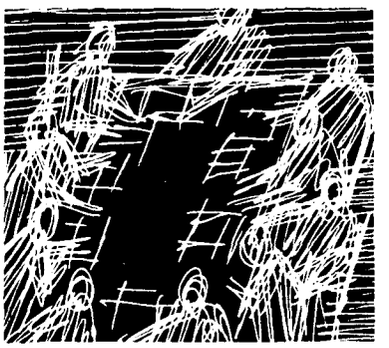
THE MAKING OF HUBERTISM

The emergence of mediocrity—a case history

JOHN BARBER



Would Humphrey break with President Johnson over Vietnam, what was his attitude towards the McCarthyite challenge, how did he propose to avoid irreparable damage to party unity—above all, what face did he intend to present to the nation as its Democratic candidate for President? Up to the Democratic Convention these issues were cloaked in doubt, secrecy and confusion. But since Chicago, certain documentary evidence not only supplies clearer answers to these questions. It also provides an insight into the thinking of his advisers.

The central issue was of course Vietnam. But the Republican Party's selection of Nixon initially seemed to be a god-sent opportunity for healing the divisions within the Democratic Party. Thus Humphrey called a meeting of his speech-writing and research staff in Washington on August 12th and instructed them "From here on in: focus solely on *Nixon*."

In the elation of being presented with an opponent who seemed a natural loser, new, taunting phrases were coined: "Clear it with Strom" (subsequently laid before an audience of journalists on August 14th), "the Nixiecrats" (unveiled in Pittsburgh on August 16th). The nomination of Nixon had apparently made the tactical tasks very simple. "*Focus on Nixon*. Don't chase rabbits. Go after the hyena."

It was soon clear, however, that Nixon was not going to provide an adequate solvent of anti-Administration feeling within the Democratic ranks and that Humphrey's position on Vietnam was as crucial as ever. His problem was obvious: how to detach himself from the Administration's policy so as to appeal to dissentients within the party, without antagonizing the powerful elements still controlled by Johnson. All the evidence suggests that for at least the first half of August Humphrey believed that the problem was soluble, and that he was led by Johnson to imagine that no obstacles would be placed in his way.

Evidently Humphrey's tacticians were planning for a Vietnam plank in the Democratic platform which would diverge significantly from the Administration's line. On August 14th, Humphrey told a group of journalists in Washington that, although the plank must not repudiate "our policies of yesterday," it "might have something in it" about a further cessation of bombing, so long as this did not amount to an unequivocal "directive." And on August 19th, Senator Muskie, on behalf of the Humphrey forces on the platform committee, introduced the outlines of a compromise Vietnam plank, asserting that "it would not be a mistake for the Democratic Party to state in its platform its willingness to support our Government in taking such calculated risks as halting the bombing, if such a risk would improve the chances of an early peace."

This was to be the closest approach to the peace camp. For on the very same day, in a Detroit speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Johnson expressly repudiated a further cessation of the bombing. Nevertheless, the Humphrey forces struggled to keep alive the possibility of a compromise plank on Vietnam for a few days longer, until on August 23rd Johnson summoned Representative Hale Boggs and Senator Randolph to Washington and conveyed to them his intention of denouncing any platform that did not endorse Administration policy. And soon from the ashes of the shortlived Humphrey dove, the old Humphrey hawk arose. On August 25th,

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Humphrey faithfully declared that Administration policy on Vietnam was "basically sound"; and the following day his backers submitted what became the majority Vietnam plank.

The Vietnam tactics of the Humphrey team thus failed because of an unwillingness to face the consequences of a breach with Johnson. The general question of party unity, however, was not wholly dependent on the outcome of the Vietnam debate. It would also be influenced by Humphrey's dealings with his opponents, by the tone of the convention, and in the last resort by Humphrey's speech accepting the Democratic nomination.

Preparing for the Convention

Traditionally the tone of the convention is set by the keynote speech. In this respect Humphrey's candidacy was assisted by the fact that the keynote speaker, Senator Inouye of Hawaii, was an old friend and supporter of the Vice President. His assistance, however, was not left to chance. As early as August 9th, a detailed memorandum was prepared by a member of Humphrey's own speechwriting team to guide Inouye's thoughts. Inouye followed the line of the memorandum fairly closely. Some fears had been expressed at the meeting of August 12th that "Inouye may take (a) much tougher line on Vietnam than we want." To prevent this, Humphrey met Inouye on August 14th to discuss the keynote speech. In the event, forces beyond the control of his speechwriting team set the tone of the convention. Nonetheless, what could be, clearly had been done.

But by far the most important factor in setting the tone for the Democrats' presidential campaign would be the candidate's acceptance speech. This was the opportunity second to none to establish Humphrey's image in the minds of the party and the nation. The complex process of stitching together the various parts of the speech began several weeks before its delivery. Full drafts were submitted by Harry McPherson, a Texan employed in the White House as a special counsel to the President, (a "good" draft, according to the Humphrey staff meeting of August 12th); by Norman Cousins, editor of *Saturday Review,* ("not so good"); by Bill Moyers, former press secretary to Johnson, now publisher of *Newsday* and by James McGregor Burns, professor of political science at Williams College and author of a critical biography of John Kennedy. Contributions were also made by, among others, Jack Valenti, another former Johnson press secretary; unionists Walter Reuther and Gus Tyler; and Illinois lawyer Walter Minow; as well as by the speechwriters on Humphrey's own staff—by August 12, Win Griffith, one of the Humphrey staffers, had already drafted the nominating and seconding speeches to be made on August 28th.

A close examination of one of the acceptance speech drafts indicates something of the pressure which Humphrey was under from his supporters to proclaim a new course: and a comparison of it with the final version shows the extent to which Humphrey successfully resisted that pressure.

Bill Moyers, in collaboration with Harris Wofford, former John Kennedy aide, who was to be arrested at Chicago at practically the same time as Humphrey was delivering his acceptance speech, urged upon his advisers a fighting speech. In a letter of August 14th to Ted Van Dyke he compared the situation to 1948. "Dewey stayed aloft in 1948, dealing as Nixon did with grand ideals and large platitudes. Truman came out fighting, talking the way people understood, slugging hard . . . and finally winning."

The Moyers draft is unquestionably a much more incisive and eloquent composition than the vague and maudlin oration eventually delivered. No time is lost in discarding the albatross of Lyndon Johnson or in defending the record of the Administration. A quick tribute to Johnson's "courageous course" and "bold dreams" hails the President's efforts, but judiciously leaves aside mention of any achievements except "the recognition that national action for American life is now a permanent necessity." And then, "it is time to begin anew. . . . No matter how much we may regret our mistakes, it is beyond our power to reshape the past. Only the future is still ours to make." The next seventeen pages of the nineteen-page draft thus turn to the tasks of the future.

The dominating theme is the new approach that Humphrey represents. Time and time again, reference is made to the "new course this convention has charted," to "courage for the new day," to the "new men who will be summoned to serve" in "the new administration." All this, of course, was also to be a leading theme in the final version, where the phrase "new day" alone was used six times. The difference is that the Moyers draft goes on to specify the dimensions of the new day. The first point made—at considerable length, taking up a quarter of the speech—is the difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties. A fierce attack is launched on Nixon and Agnew, an interesting contrast to the final version where not a single direct reference was made to either. "We must be judged," runs the draft, "by . . . the character of the company we keep, by the kind of people we are and the people we listen to, by the course we take and the colleagues we choose to carry out that course. . . . And to whom did Richard Nixon listen, and whom did he choose? . . . He decided to compete with George Wallace—to listen to Strom Thurmond, John Tower, Ronald Reagan and Barry Goldwater . . . the Republican candidate for President, in order to win his party's nomination, mortgaged his vice presidency to Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and to those followers who threatened to vote for George Wallace if they did not get their way! Those same people, led by the same man, also threatened the Democratic Party in Phil-

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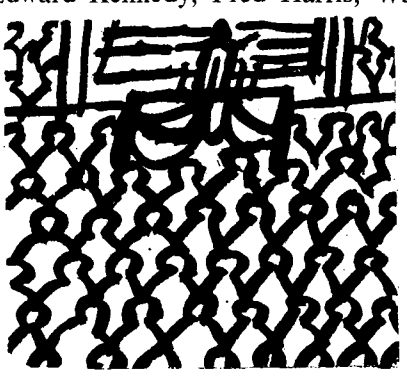
adelphia in 1948. When we refused to cave in, they walked out. What they lost in Philadelphia, they won in Miami." This section ends with a strong appeal to the Republican liberals. "For the party that wins the election in November . . . cannot be a party mortgaged to one section. It cannot be a party whose decisions can be vetoed by a few men who have spent their careers opposing the rights of other Americans. . . . It has to be a party free to do what is right, what is just, and what is decent."

Then follows a generous tribute to the liberal elements in the Democratic Party. "In the highest counsels of policy-making, including the making of a new foreign policy, we will call upon Gene McCarthy and George McGovern, far-sighted and courageous men who have led the national foreign policy debate that has culminated in the peace negotiations in Paris and in the platform of peace adopted by this convention"—another indication, it may be noted, of the evident expectation in some Humphrey circles that the Democratic platform would contain a peace plank. After further acknowledgments to Edward Kennedy, Fred Harris, Walter Mon-



dale, Carl Stokes, Joseph Alioto and Sargent Shriver, the draft turns to speak to "the largest party of all, the party of non-partisan people, and especially to the young who are the most independent of all."

This is a fascinating section, making as it does, and as the final version also halfheartedly did, an eleventh-hour attempt to harness the newly-awakened political energies of youth to the revamped Humphrey machine. The appeal is a candid one. "No one can represent you fully: more and more from now on you will be representing yourselves. No one of another age can fully appreciate your sense of impatience with the politics that seem so incongruous with the new world you have known from birth." And it is admitted that Kennedy and McCarthy stood closer to the spirit of youth. "But the ideas that Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy fought for go on, the cause you are working for will go on; it is the cause of peace and hope and change to which this convention has committed this party and the new Administration." It is the responsibility of political leadership, the draft continues, to help youth fulfill its ambition of shaping its life and country and world. "I will not pretend to be of your generation," it has the nominee declare, "but I do intend to prove you wrong about one current slogan: Never trust anyone *over* 30. That is just as wrong as Plato's advice, which the Republican Party seems to follow: Never trust anyone *under* 30."

So to the programmatic part of the draft where, in greatest contrast to the final version, bold and concrete proposals are advanced. The voting age should be lowered to 18, "so that all of those old enough to be asked to fight for their country will be entitled to participate fully in the great process of self-government." The Peace Corps, VISTA, the Teachers Corps and other programs will be expanded into a system of universal voluntary service. A student bill of rights will give to every young American the opportunity for at least one or two years of higher education or job training. Inequities in the draft system will be ended: "We will recognize voluntary civilian service as a satisfactory substitute for military service so long as we have a draft. . . . As soon as peace comes in Vietnam, we will move to abolish the draft altogether and substitute for it a professional system based on higher compensation for voluntary military service."

And on Vietnam itself the departure from the Administration's policy is unmistakably proclaimed. "We have learned that there are some things power alone cannot do, and one of them is to create peace and order, justice and dignity in Asia. . . . We cannot go back over the history which brave men on both sides have hallowed with their blood. . . . But we can resolve, and we at this convention *have* resolved, that we will henceforth move through negotiation to peace, or through peace to negotiations." Then, dramatically, comes the appeal for peace. "We call on the leaders and people of North and South Vietnam to accept a total ceasefire *now,* to agree that all bombing and all shooting will stop forthwith, to let the future unity of that unhappy land, the sharing or the division of power be settled by negotiations or elections. It is their country: the blood that is being spilled is the blood of brothers." Then the lessons of Vietnam are spelt out. "Painful as it is for us to admit, [the] needs [of the people of Asia] cannot ultimately be met by decisions in Washington or Moscow or Paris. . . . The burden of our rhetoric must become the brunt of our policy: an insistence that these and other countries, including North Vietnam, determine the future character of Asia by their own political devices." This means not isolation by America but involvement. How? "Not by assuming that unilateral American power is a safe guarantee for peace. Not by worshipping order at the expense of justice. Not by passing on the other side of local conditions mined with unrelieved human misery," but by providing "massive assistance—food, capital and technical assistance—to a large part of the world."

Finally the domestic scene. The crisis is recognized, and so is its chief source.—"the violence which Negro Americans have suffered for over two hundred years in this country, the violence which lynched men who stood

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up for their rights." But the answer is not repression. "A government founded on force, with law enforcement at gunpoint or by tear gas, is not the America I want."

It is admittedly a little hard to imagine Humphrey actually delivering this speech. A Eugene McCarthy might have given it, might even have written it for himself, but not Hubert Humphrey. Even leaving content aside, the style lacks the eloquent ambiguities and lachrymose histrionics characteristic of the Vice President. A fair indication of his preferences in the matter of speeches is contained in his criticisms of some discussed at the meeting of August 12th. . . . "They're much too long . . . Must find new ways of saying: We want a better America (use graphic examples . . . but with statistics skillfully woven in—short, sharp and succinct—example: the Negro child; the density of ghetto population, and applied to the local situation; mental retardation; etc.) . . . Must *personalize* it—on anything: number in the audience who'll unnecessarily die of heart attacks, can't see the Gateway Arch in St. Louis (urban air pollution), use anecdotes . . . Need a driving force—the hot flames of urgency . . . More speeches like that eulogizing Martin Luther King, Jr. (PFZ's)—short, eloquent, lyrical . . . Recognition of the difference between the kinds of projection needed for direct vs. TV speeches . . . Obviously, on foreign affairs, can't be as specific . . . *Theme*: There is a basic reservoir of goodwill and decency in Americans; if we can but touch the hearts and minds of Americans, we can harness this reservoir & make it work—The new partnership between private, public—The new humanity—New Democracy: a participatory democracy —We can yet control our own destiny."

Such was the well into which the Moyers draft, along with others, was dropped. Not surprisingly, little of it surfaced. With the exception of a few phrases, there is no significant resemblance between this draft and the speech made on the evening of August 29th. Johnson's intervention in the pre-convention maneuvering is one good political reason for this. Some others are suggested by a memorandum sent on August 20th to the chief speechwriter, John Stewart, by an assistant, Philip Zeidman.

In this memo, several aspects of the draft are criticized. The attack on Nixon and Agnew, it says, can be done much more effectively by inference. The list of acknowledgments is "generally offensive and dangerous unless you are sure you are not missing anyone. It also sounds disconcertingly like an Oscar winner thanking the whole cast of supporting actors." The "paean to LBJ" is to be got over with as soon as possible, but "this is simply too much too soon. We should try to avoid turning off two-thirds of the American public in the first two minutes." The reference to a "mortgage" on Nixon is a good one, and "HHH might even say, 'No man holds my political mortgage.' " The "direct belaboring" of the South, the memorandum continues, is "too obvious and too offensive." The "civil rights dream" is to be stressed but so also is the "other half of the equation," namely "those who would use the legitimate grievances of their fellows as an excuse for savage and wanton destruction, etc." The appeal to youth is considered "too falsely humble" and too specific: "this much attention to youth seems to me to offend their elders, who already think youth is being pandered too much, and who, after all, do cast a hell of a lot more votes."

In general remarks on the acceptance speech, Humphrey's speechwriter emphasizes the paramount need for a sense of challenge. "I think the country is ready to be treated like adults"—which rather begs the question how it has been treated in the past four years—"and to be given a spine-stiffening treatment similar to that which has worked effectively in the past ('I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat' . . .)" This is to be tied to a "concession that we have not always been perfect," and to a portrayal of Nixon as the "prophet of false hope and illusion," who mistrusts both the government (a point, it is noted, to be "played down" in view of the fact that a recent Gallup Poll showed that 46% of the nation regards big government as the greatest threat to the country) and the people. Equally important, a sense of moral authority must be conveyed. "I think the country is yearning for this. Senator McCarthy's success stems in large part from the impression of a man of quiet conviction and inner self-confidence, however much we may think it borders upon arrogance or haughtiness." Some reference is proposed to the 1948 convention, though not in a way that "smacks too much of *The Last Hurrah.*" And finally, Zeidman adds, "for the first, and I hope the last, time as a Presidential nominee, I think the Vice President might like to use the Thomas Wolfe quotation: '. . . this is the promise of America' "—a suggestion that was adopted, though somewhere along the line the novelist was transformed for the final version into "that poet."

As it turned out, Humphrey's acceptance speech was a mediocre hodgepodge, barely reflecting a day's serious thought by a single adviser, let alone a month's preparation by a large team. Mawkish sentimentality ("May we just share for a moment a few of those immortal words of the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi") rubbed shoulders with blatant jingoism ("We love this nation, we love America") and unashamed fawning ("And tonight to you, Mr. President, I say thank you. Thank you, Mr. President.") A crisis was admitted, a new day was proclaimed, but what either consisted of was left to the imagination. The lesson had been learned, declared the nominee, "that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of yesterday"—an obvious enough remark from one so intimately acquainted with the discrepancy between Johnson's pre-election promises on Vietnam and his post-election record. But what the policies of tomorrow might be was again anyone's guess.

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The "trouble in America" was deftly attributed not to social evils but to rising expectations. And fervent applause greeted the Agnewesque statement that "rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics, and disregard for law are the advance guard of anarchy, and they must and they will be stopped." A passage from Humphrey's April 6th eulogy on Martin Luther King was resurrected and modified to include Robert Kennedy as well; and so, with an appeal to hope and faith and goodness, the performance came to an end.

One final aspect of the acceptance speech that is slightly puzzling is Humphrey's failure to make any allusion to his role in the 1948 convention, when he forced through a radical civil rights platform. This would have been an obvious and perhaps effective way of reminding dissidents of his credentials as a liberal. One reason for this omission is that the Humphrey camp expected a walk-out of McCarthy and McGovern elements during the acceptance speech, and intended to invoke the memory of 1948 when this happened. In view of the bitter conflict on the floor of the convention from the very start, it was a reasonable expectation. At all events, a set of "proposed remarks in event of walk-out during acceptance speech" was drafted on August 27th, the second day of the convention. This reminded those leaving that "those who abandon their seats abandon as well the opportunity to make their voices heard," and asserted somewhat lamely that "We have seen at this Convention not a victory of one faction but a victory for the democratic process." With the situation in Chicago worsening, the draft was abbreviated on August 28th to a more terse sheet of "remarks following walk-out." The "[word deleted] delegates that are leaving this Convention" were to be informed that "This is not the first time I have been at a Convention where there was a walk-out. This is not the first time a faction of an American political party has isolated itself from the majority"—and the examples of Lincoln in 1860 and Truman in 1948 were to be cited.

The anticipated disaster never materialized. Humphrey's opponents in the Amphitheatre at Chicago stayed in their seats and heard his speech through. For it was not necessary for them to destroy party unity by walking out. That unity had been destroyed already by Humphrey's refusal to make any real accommodation with the new, thrusting forces in the Democratic Party. At a moment in the history of the Party when only a positive response to these forces could preserve its inner cohesion and dynamic, Humphrey and his advisers were guilty of straightforward cowardice in capitulating, as Nixon did at Miami, to the less progressive elements. At a moment in the history of America when the nation cried out for a new kind of leadership, Humphrey chose to fight on the same old ground as Nixon. Whose voice comes through when Humphrey speaks, it is difficult to say; only in the most nominal sense is it that of the man himself. But what is clear from the evidence examined above is that Humphrey knew that he was faced with a genuine choice before the convention opened, and that some of his supporters were urging him in different ways to act bravely and free the present from the past. His failure to do so more than anything else makes inevitable the election of Richard Nixon.

The differences make a difference

THE CASE FOR HUMPHREY

PAUL E. SIGMUND

As the ads for *Life* put it, "Consider the alternative." This is not an opening gambit for an argument for Humphrey along "the lesser of two evils" lines. It is simply a reminder to those who would punish the Democratic Party because of the Vietnam war and the Chicago convention that the instrument of their revenge (or "purification" if you prefer) is Richard Nixon. To comfort oneself that there is no real difference between the candidates and that Nixon wouldn't be so bad is a self-justificatory delusion. It ignores both the vast powers of the presidency and the enormous differences in past and present attitudes, policies, and capacities of the two candidates.

Whether we approve or not, the office and powers of the President have greatly expanded in recent years. The changes in American domestic and foreign policy which resulted from the "1000 days" of John Kennedy attest to the impact of the personality and values of the President on American governmental policy and the quality of American life. While we can not predict with certainty what any candidate will do once in office, we can make an assessment as to his basic values, his judgment on personnel and policy, and his ability to cope with the kinds of problems which will face him during his term of office. Hubert Humphrey's past record and present program

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mark him out as clearly superior to Richard Nixon on all these counts.

Richard Nixon's political values are basically conservative, and in some cases reactionary. The "New Nixon" may not engage in witch-hunting and mudslinging but the basic orientation and character structure remain beneath the bland and platitudinous exterior. At a time when domestic and international relations demand new initiatives and positive responses Nixon praises the do-nothing presidential career of Dwight Eisenhower and pitches his TV campaign at the "guiltless" middle classes. (Who are the guilty ones—and of what are they guilty?)

A President must make awesome decisions under terrible pressure. To avoid being put under pressure, Nixon has used one pretext or another to avoid a TV debate—but the public fit that he threw when he lost the gubernatorial race in California in 1962 has given us an indication of how he would behave in a difficult situation.

A President must choose the top- and middle-level personnel of American government. Nixon's capacity as a judge of character and abilities is indicated by his selection of Spiro Agnew as his running mate. At a time when American domestic and foreign policy requires men of top ability we will return to a businessman's government and drive out many of the able people who have been attracted to the public service in the past eight years.

A new President will have to deal with the problems of the alienation of the young and the rising demands of the Negro. The polls indicate that Nixon will get only a tiny minority of the votes of both these groups—and his own statements, and even more those of his vice-presidential candidate, have indicated a lack of understanding and even an active hostility to their concerns.

A new President will have to make important decisions on foreign affairs including perhaps the central decision of peace or war, and he must be able to work with other nations in the framework of international cooperation built up over the last generation. Nixon is hated and feared by other nations. In Latin America he is a symbol of the Dulles era in foreign policy. In Europe he is known as a hardliner and cold-warrior. His frequent references to Eisenhower's success in ending the Korean war (which involved a threat to use nuclear weapons) raise serious questions about the possibility of a nuclear escalation in Vietnam. His platform promises a return to protectionism in international economic relations and his recent letter opposing regulation of the stock market is indicative of where he would stand on the protection of American business interests abroad.

By contrast, Humphrey has shown himself to be a man of compassion and imagination in domestic and international affairs. If we postpone discussion of his Vietnam position and look at the rest of his record on foreign policy issues, he has consistently been ahead of public opinion and of many of the experts in proposing new directions in international policy. From the Peace Corps (or Point Four Youths Corps as he entitled it) to nuclear disarmament, Humphrey has shown that he has the ability to anticipate needed changes in foreign policy and the imagination to devise new ways of meeting those needs. Most striking during this campaign has been his emphasis from his acceptance speech until today on the need for further international disarmament efforts. Contrast this with Nixon's refusal to press for the ratification of the treaty to ban the spread of nuclear weapons.

Domestically the same pattern holds good. Compare the two stands on aid to education. Nixon refused to break a Senate tie on an aid to education bill when he was Vice President; Humphrey has pushed for further assistance to education for twenty years. Nixon is for law and order; Humphrey's platform speaks of the need for law and justice. Nixon has failed to come up with a single interesting new idea for government action to deal with urban problems; Humphrey has produced a whole series of imaginative proposals for new legislation in this area.

In the selection of government personnel, Humphrey has already made a brilliant choice in his vice-presidential candidate. Muskie's sincerity, maturity, and intelligence have made him an important national figure in the few weeks since the convention. The presidential team is likely to include intellectuals, young people, Negroes, and labor leaders—the Democratic coalition, in short. None of these groups are likely to be represented in important policy positions under Nixon.

And the Polls?

Humphrey is not simply the lesser of two evils—he is entitled to support as an exceptionally well-qualified and proven candidate under any conditions. Then why do the polls consistently show such support for Nixon? It certainly has nothing to do with the Vietnam war. The fall campaign has demonstrated that it is no longer an overriding issue. (Indeed it probably never was, except in the minds of the press and the liberal intellectuals. After New Hampshire, which by the way Lyndon Johnson won, the Democratic primaries in the spring, the supposed referendums on the war, were really personality contests between two very attractive candidates, and the Vietnam issue diminished in importance once the Paris negotiations had begun. (In his first primary in Indiana, Robert Kennedy recognized this when he emphasized his role as chief law enforcement officer of the country for three years and underscored his opposition to rioting and disorder.) It seems to me that there are two reasons for Nixon's margin.

It is difficult to believe, since he lost the 1960 election as a result of television debates, but one reason seems to be that Nixon inspires greater confidence than Humphrey when he appears on TV. Here indeed there is a new Nixon, the smooth, confident, well made-up—one is

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tempted to say, slick—politician who is never rattled and is always ready to answer every question with a vague non-controversial and *brief* reply. In contrast, Humphrey appears to be the incarnation of the fast-talking garrulous "pol" and he is much less appealing on television than in person. The ruddy cheeks become sallow in black and white TV and acquire odd hues in color. The chin is thrust out more, the hairline recedes further, and the nose and jowls are more pronounced than in real life. And when he has smothered a question with fifteen minutes of old-style oratory, he has done little to redress the imbalance between Mother Nature and "the tube."

But the second, far more important reason for Humphrey's problem in this election is the central issue of the campaign—law and order. The country is disturbed by the rash of riots, disorders, and general increase in violence in recent years, and it blames the Democrats for unleashing the forces which provoked them. This is perhaps the most persuasive reason to vote for Humphrey in this election. For it has indeed become a referendum —not on Vietnam, not on the handling of the Chicago convention, but on whether or not to continue the social progress of the last eight years even at the cost of some disturbance and disorder, or to repress dissent and reverse the course of recent American history. Whatever may be said about Mayor Daley and the Chicago police, the Democratic Party in general and Hubert Humphrey in particular have been considerably more open to the forces of change in this country than have the Republicans. An abstention or a vote for Nixon (not to mention George Wallace) will not be understood as a vote of no-confidence in Lyndon Johnson or of opposition to the war. It will be understood as a mandate against change and for "law and order." It will further accelerate the alienation of the blacks and the young from the American political system.

It is argued that it is necessary to punish the Democratic Party for its past sins by assuring its defeat in 1968 so that a new liberalized reform party may come back to power in 1972. This assumes of course that there is or will be a liberal majority which will opt for change in four years, which is not at all certain. In fact the lesson that is likely to be drawn from a Nixon victory will be the need to move the party further to the right to win future elections.

It also assumes that the Democrats will not follow the time-honored custom of opposition parties in America and break down into a number of squabbling factions. To argue that they are more likely to follow the example of the Republicans after 1964 and emerge stronger and more united after a cataclysmic defeat is to ignore the fact that the new-found Republican strength emerged from precisely the opposite starting point. The Republicans derive their present strength from emphasizing party unity as the highest value and ignoring ideological differences. The dissident Democrats by contrast wish to refashion the party along ideological lines similar to those which were the very reason for the Republican debacle in 1964. Has everyone forgotten "a choice, not an echo"?

Finally, the war. The evidence at the moment points clearly in the direction of another bombing halt and renewed efforts at a political settlement if Humphrey is elected. He has said so on television and if that promise was qualified so as to prevent the North Vietnamese from exploiting his position in Paris, does this make Humphrey a warmonger or a Johnson puppet, as the press has implied? It is significant that two of those who are best known for their disagreement with Johnson on the bombing issue, Arthur Goldberg and George Ball, are actively campaigning for Humphrey. If the opponents of the war are concerned with saving lives and ending hostilities, they will vote for the candidate who is most likely by instinct, experience, ideology, and associations to end it as quickly as possible. Now that the Nixon secret plan for ending the war has been revealed to be a fiction, and his only new approach appears to rely on a nuclear threat, it should be clearer than ever that there is a certain lack of proportion in punishing the Democrats by destroying the country, if not the world.

Politics is the art of the possible. It is not possible this year to vote for Eugene McCarthy despite his TV sex appeal and his position on the war. He was opposed by the Party professionals as much for his too-casual personality and eighteenth-century conception of the presidency as for his independence and opposition to Lyndon Johnson. It is not possible to vote for Ted Kennedy this year. A vote for Nixon or an abstention will not secure Kennedy the nomination in 1972, and could bring the country to disaster well before that date. It *is* possible to vote for a man who has shown his openness to change, breadth of interest, and capacity for imaginative and creative response to the needs of the country. That man is Hubert Humphrey.

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WILLIAM BEYER

BIRD IN NOVEMBER

Uneasy,
How that late bird
Prefers
A season now;
In the vacancy of wood,
Upon a leafless bough.

Winter
Is certain danger,
Autumn was temporal,
Slow,
But what more barren weather
Than between flame and snow?

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ARE YOU READY TO COMMIT
TO CREMATE ALIVE 6,000,000

Your Government Is Ready
And Can Do It With Only One Of Its Hydrogen Bombs—
In Your Name, Of Course

Indiscriminate warfare was condemned as a "Crime against God and man" by the world's bishops at Vatican II

THREE YEARS LATER, AMERICAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS STILL HAVE NOT DISSOCIATED THE CHURCH FROM THE NUCLEAR POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

"If these should hold their peace, the stones will cry out."

The American Catholic Bishops have proposed to issue "a pastoral letter which will in part address itself to the amplification of the moral principles enunciated by the Second Vatican Council to the present critical problems of war and peace."

We believe that the following recommendations must be taken into account if sorely-needed clarification if to be given to consciences gravely troubled by the ever-widening abyss between Christian teaching and practice regarding war and peace.

PAX OPEN LETTER TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS

1. We strongly recommend that our bishops act to make the Vatican Council statement on conscientious objection a reality for American Catholics. The Council urges that "laws make humane provision for the case of those who for reasons of conscience refuse to bear arms, provided they agree to serve the human community in some other way." U.S. Selective Service law incorporates religious discrimination by explicitly providing objector classification and civilian alternative service only for those who are against all wars, but not for those who refuse to participate in wars they judge to be unjust.

We recommend that the American hierarchy endorse and support the position of the late Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan that the Selective Service law be amended to include the words:

The Consciences of Those Who Follow the Just War Tradition Should Be Respected.

The PAX Rights of Conscience Campaign based on this position has to date won the support of seven Catholic bishops, as well as the backing of many educators, editors, and theologians, both Protestant and Catholic.

2. We strongly recommend that our bishops extend to young Catholic men who refuse to serve in a war they believe is unjust and immoral the same support and encouragement that the Church gives to men who accept military service. This would include following the recent example of the German hierarchy in setting up diocesan counseling agencies to assist men interested in conscientious objection, establishing a special chaplaincy to serve the spiritual needs of those assigned to alternative service, and clarifying Church teaching for draft boards.

3. We strongly recommend that young Catholics who gain the status of conscientious objectors be assured the possibility of obtaining alternative service with the only Catholic overseas aid agency recognized by Selective Service for this purpose. This agency, Catholic Relief Services—U.S.C.C., overseas aid arm of the American Catholic hierarchy and of the corporate Catholic community, has so far not found a place in its program for even one conscientious objector. This is in contrast to other church-related overseas aid agencies which have made a special point of meeting their responsibility to these men.

4. We strongly recommend that the American hierarchy clarify the role of Christian nonviolence and support those of their community already committed to it. This prophetic position proclaims the central Christian message of love, even love of enemies. On his recent visit to Bogota, the Holy Father declared, "We must say and re-affirm that violence is not in accord with the Gospel; that it is not Christian." Might not our bishops be equally forthright and unambiguous on this matter?

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'INSTANT AUSCHWITZ' — ?
INHABITANTS OF A CITY

5. We strongly recommend that the Catholic and papal opposition to universal military conscription be re-affirmed as a guide to Catholics. Should not all efforts be turned towards the abolition of conscription and its substitution by a volunteer army?
6. We strongly recommend that it is not the function of any hierarchy to express support or even acquiesence in the case of any war. The French bishops at their Plenary Session in 1966 stated that "certain bishops appear to take one side or another (in a war). This is not their role. By taking sides, bishops arouse passions even further and dig divisions yet deeper . . . All victims are our brothers, and when anyone suffers, the Church suffers with him."
7. We strongly recommend that as a special national responsibility the American hierarchy must confront the basic immorality of the so-called nuclear deterrent. Even those of us who plead ignorance can no longer do so after the accident in Spain in 1966 when it was revealed that one plane carried four hydrogen bombs of 20 or more megaton power. Only one of these bombs, dropped over a large metropolitan area such as New York, would produce an instant Auschwitz, cremating alive between 6,000,000 and 8,000,000 persons. Such weaponry clearly falls under the only ban pronounced in the whole course of the Vatican Council, namely, the condemnation of indiscriminate warfare. Such bombs, whose use was described by the Council as a **"crime against God and man,"** could only be **"aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities or extensive areas along with their populations."**
8. Our final and strongest recommendation is that the bishops take this occasion to speak in clear terms about the already condemned nuclear warfare which our country is preparing. To those who dismiss the problem by saying that such weapons are only a deterrent and would never be used, there are two answers. First, a deterrent whose nature is to destroy a preponderent proportion of the innocent is essentially evil and should be renounced by all just men. Second, such weapons have already been used, and by our country. Furthermore, they would not be a deterrent if they were not really to be used. A leading architect of the U.S. nuclear system recently stated that American retaliation would mean total destruction to an opponent, "not merely to his military forces, but to his society as a whole."

Many bishops at the Council pointed to the immorality of the preparation, possession, and utilization of weapons of indiscriminate warfare. Among them was American Cardinal Joseph Ritter. He called for:

An Absolute Condemnation of the Possession of Arms Which Involve the Intention or the Grave Peril of Total War.

(See *The War That is Forbidden: Peace Beyond Vatican II*, a PAX book, sent to all members of the American hierarchy, as well as to all members of Congress.)

Now we ask that our bishops take the lead in applying the peace message of Vatican II by dissociating themselves from all forms of indiscriminate warfare and particularly from nuclear weapons that are in fact instruments of genocide. Silence means that we assent to their preparation, possession, and possible use. Such silence negates for millions of people all verbal professions about the sacredness of human life and the inviolability of the person. Since all morality is unilateral, we cannot wait for the other side to take the step of disavowing dependence on nuclear weaponry. We ask our spiritual Fathers to encourage the Catholic community and all persons of good will to join in stating about indiscriminate warfare and nuclear genocide:

THIS WILL NOT BE DONE IN OUR NAME.

PAX is an association of Catholics and others who seek to promote peace and to encourage the application of Christian principles to the question of war. Its membership includes both individuals committed to Christian nonviolence and those who accept the just war tradition.

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The problem is deeper and broader than tribalism

BIAFRA: PORTENTS FOR THE FUTURE?

PAUL DEUTSCHMAN

None of the comments I've seen about the depressing civil war in Nigeria—between the Federal Government and the former Eastern Region calling itself "Biafra"—has touched the heart of the matter, the *real* political and emotional basis for the conflict and the unspoken way it involves the rest of the world.

There is a great deal of wise talk and head-shaking about "tribalism," but the problem is deeper, and broader, than that. Though everyone seems to shy away from saying it out loud, this war is quite essentially a matter of religion and of "European" versus "non-European" ties. The latter breakdown is what we, in our corner of the world, often refer to as "Western" as against "anti-" or "non-Western" influences. And in this seemingly remote West African conflict, fought in "Heart-of-Darkness" sounding locales, you can make out—if you seek deeply and unemotionally enough—certain not terribly happy portents of our future as far as America's own racial problems are concerned.

First of all, you have to realize that the Ibos, who are the dominant tribe of Biafra, are Christians. They are more "Western" oriented. During colonial times, the areas of Nigeria in which they made up the majority of the population were much more subjected to European influences than the other areas. This has very little to do with stereotyped versions of meddling missionaries or big-bwana-type planters, but, rather, with a large variety of socio-economical developmental "inputs": more schools and hospitals, more trade and traders; more branch offices of colonial businesses; a greater involvement by the locals with these businesses; more settlers (not only British but Greeks and Syrio-Lebanese and Indians). The result was that the Ibos became a more (as we understand the term) "advanced" people—more educated, more economically and culturally involved with the occupying power, and much less "tribal" or anchored to feudalism than the other tribes of colonial—and, later, sovereign—Nigeria. A people who (if you can stand the analogy and circumvent the stereotype) were, and are, more like "us." (Where by "us," I mean white and/or black Americans.)

The Northern Region of Nigeria, meanwhile—where the great majority of the nation's population lives—is very largely Moslem. The most numerous tribe there are the Hausas. The originally predominant tribe (now fast fading into a Bedouin-like nostalgia) were the Fulanis—descendants of North African Arabs who came down into West Africa (as well, of course, into East Africa) as conquerors, and who converted the natives they found there to Mohammedanism. These latter are today's Hausas.

There are large differences in appearance and culture between these two black-skinned Moslem tribes which Americans, black or white, who do not know Africa may find difficult to appreciate. The Fulani are somewhat Semitic-looking, tall, slender, desert-warrior types; you meet their likenesses in the southern reaches of Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, in the northern Equatorial countries such as Mali, Sénégal and the Ivory Coast, as well as in a number of other places that do not have much to do, ostensibly, with Africa. Originally, the Fulani were, by and large, the nobles in the land; and the Hausas, by and large, their vassals and, often, slaves. The latter (and it stands to reason, as is always the case, that there was a great and "after-ruling-hours" transfusion of the two bloodstreams) are a more "Negroid" and more familiarly "African" people (as we presently misunderstand these terms)—somewhat shorter, broader-nostriled and thicker-boned, less "light" in hue. This future Northern Region, moreover, was much less intimately permeated by the British colonists during pre-independence days. As in many other of the more "tribal" and more solidly feudal areas of the colonial world, the imperial power was content to deal with the mass of the people through their ordained overlords and traditional chiefs. It was all much tidier that way.

All the foregoing is very (and, admittedly, *over*-) simplified. But it was a fact that when Nigeria became sovereign—as it is still a fact today, in the areas encompassed by Nigerian-claimed sovereignty—the people of the North were much less literate, much less "developed" economically and socially; and much less "European." This, of course, does not infer that they were, or are, any more, or less, "African" than those of the other regions. But they were, and are, much more numerous; and they have, by their numbers, controlled to a very large extent the politics (though not the economic and intellectual life) of the nation.

Further, the Northern Region, being relatively "un-

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spoiled" as far as those from outside cultures are concerned, has always been the favored area for the more romantic among the colonists (themselves, generally refugees from the suburban trains and pastoral villages of the British Isles). And today it is still very much the preferred part of the country for many "expats" (former district officers and such who don't want to go back to Blighty quite yet and who are generally, it must be fairly understood, rendering invaluable services as employees of the present native government). This situation can be paralleled in many other parts of the ex-colonial world, whether formerly British, French, Dutch or American, where the ex-colonists feel more at home among the less "advanced" of the ex-colonial people than among those who have followed more closely in their footsteps. (You can see this perhaps best in the preference of the British *raj* types for the relatively "untamed" Pathans of the Northwest Frontier of present-day Pakistan than for their more easily-subdued compatriots to the south, and certainly for the Indians, all of them, on the "wrong" side of Lahore).

But as a result of this religious difference—between Christians and Moslems—and this cultural difference—between the more European-oriented and the less European-oriented—we have the civil war today in Nigeria.

You can begin to understand something of the real problems that beset the various "European" foreign offices (our own as well as those of our cultural forebears in Western Europe) because of the unarticulated implications of these "European" versus "non-European" and "Christian" versus "Moslem" confrontations. The *New York Times* of Aug. 16 ran an article (by Lloyd Garrison, out of Paris) which described France as being the "key" to the fate of Biafra; it was supplying most of the arms coming in there (via blockade-running French pilots flying north from Libreville, in Gabon). General de Gaulle was supposedly on the horns of a painful dilemma as far as his emotions versus his politics were concerned; reportedly he was supporting Biafra in this way because of a highly persuasive appeal made by President Félix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

I'm sure this is true. But it is awfully misleading. De Gaulle is a man with extremely cool-lidded, X-ray eyes as far as emotions *versus* politics are concerned; he can always be counted upon to see to the "bones" of a situation and he knows where France's best interests lie in Nigeria. I would imagine he is beset by very few doubts that these lie with "Christian" Biafra as against "Moslem" Nigeria. I would further imagine that de Gaulle was not influenced to extend diplomatic recognition to Biafra by any persuasive words from either Houphouët-Boigny or the new President Albert-Bernard Bongo of Gabon—both of them representing France's two closest friends in Africa (though *he* may have influenced their recognition of their fellow Christian state). Moreover, de Gaulle could be depended upon to see the petroleum possibilities inherent in this recognition—with Britain saddled to the North; with the offshore drilling abandoned at Port Gentil, in Gabon, but very much alive at Port Harcourt, in Biafra (or the Eastern Region of Nigeria); and with the United States, caught between oil and sympathy (it is U.S. companies who have the concessions at Harcourt, but the campaigns to help the starving Biafrans are having their greatest effect on the American public).

If de Gaulle has any dilemma at all *vis-à-vis* Biafra, it might seem to arise from his support of this supposedly "anti-Moslem" state as against his support of the Moslem Arabs in their conflict with supposedly "anti-Moslem" Israel. But all this is *realpolitik,* of which de Gaulle is, far and away, the present world titleholder.

But I would doubt that this presents any real problem to him, or that he sees any really *lasting* discrepancy between his present stance towards the Arabs in the Middle East and towards Biafra in West Africa. "Self-interest" (which is to say, "European," long-range influence) is the basically governing motif in all de Gaullic maneuvers, here and everywhere else; and one can logically assume a certain break-off point occurring for France in

the Middle East, if he had to make a really *basic* choice between a European-oriented Israel and an anti-European Arab hegemony. This assumption, I would venture to imagine, is what sustains the Israeli Government in its tolerance vis-à-vis France today.

But beyond this, de Gaulle has always been a kind of advance-guard and bell-ringer for Western policy—and in ways that the near-sighted in our own press and government do not see. (I'm not saying that there are not powerful elements in both these estates who are, and continuously were, well aware of this specialized function of this admittedly hard-to-take French President and these, certainly, would seem to have included both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.) It must be remembered that, like him or not, de Gaulle was in advance of the present, and most politically opportune, Western disposition to view the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Communist states in somewhat separate terms. Thus, de Gaulle, in the Biafra-Nigeria conflict may be considered, in a very broad way, to "represent" the rest of us; acting as our "advance-guard"—which does not

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necessarily mean that he (or we) will be successful (i.e., that Biafra will continue alive).

The real complicating factor here is much more *internal.* It arises out of the supposedly "non-European" connotation of Nigeria itself, and, thus, of all the "non-Christian" (or, if you will, "non-Judeo-Christian") states of Africa. The simplistic disposition of the stereotype-thinkers would be to view these states as more purely "African"—thus, more intrinsically nationalistic; thus, less "neo-colonially"-oriented; and, thus, somehow, "freer."

I think it all goes, ultimately, much further than this, however. The Nigeria-Biafra war is symptomatic of two very large and barely-recognized motions of history-in-the-making that will be affecting us all—whether in the so-called "developed" or so-called "less-developed" countries (as well as in the "less-developed *sectors*" of our respective populations).

There is, first and most broadly, the slowly-mounting conflict between the *developed* colonial-educated and the *developed* "tribal" educated peoples of the newly-sovereign nations (of Africa, particularly, but of parts of Asia as well). What this means is the mounting differences between those who were educated in the colonial powers' schools (whether back in Paris, London, The Hague or wherever) or colonial-run schools at home as against those who were educated in purely "tribal" or native schools. This very basic and little-understood demarcation takes in leaders as well as lower-echelon peoples—whether they learned their lessons of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* on the cafe-terraces along Boulevard St. Michel or in the missionary-run schools in the bush, as against those who have come into their own, generally, after sovereignty was attained and are generally considered "untainted" by foreign influence. You can see this tendency in the ex-colonial world via some seemingly distant facts: for example, the growing stress on the non-English languages in India and Pakistan and the slight, ever-so-slight (but evident) falling-from-grace of the true "Oxbridge" accent as against the growing social acceptance of the once-disdained "chi-chi" accent. Also, you run into government officials in Tunisia today who do not speak a word of French. Also, the "tribal" (i.e., back-bush, *conquered*) people who made up some 90 percent of Liberia are coming to the fore (intermarrying, attending secondary schools and colleges, going into coastal businesses and government offices) alongside their one-time conquerors, the "Americo-Liberians" (descendants of pre-Civil War, American slaves who were dumped onto these shores!). The fact, also, that the one, truly-French-oriented cabinet minister in Gabon fell from grace with a thud some 20 months ago (he's a *"métis,"* Sorbonne graduate and presently in a Libreville prison) as against the "untainted," locally-educated types.

There is a certain degree of historical heartlessness involved here, that you meet up with in almost any *realized* (i.e., manifestly successful) revolution. The real revolutionaries, the activists, the militants who actually threw the bombs and stood up in the village squares and signed the manifestos and commanded the internal guerrillas and *wilayas,* are generally those who learned their lessons of national independence in the occupying power's schools and government bureaus, while those who generally come to supplant them are the "untainted" non-militants, who marched across the border with the unbloodied, occupying troops (generally outfitted and supplied by *other* foreigners) after sovereignty has finally been won.

In Nigeria, this tendency shows itself more pristinely in the present conflict between the "tribal" Hausas and the "open-society" Ibos. (And, if you want a further complication thrown at you: the Hausas, away from their home grounds, are a potent factor in West African development. You meet up with "Hausa traders" as far away as the inner rainforests of Gabon and they are generally called "the Jews of Africa" because of their reputed commercial and trading talents. But in Nigeria, the "Jews"—i.e., the great traders—are the Syrians and Lebanese.)

However its local manifestations, this mounting conflict between the ostensibly "foreign-nurtured" and the "home-grown" will be more-and-more important in the ex-colonial world over this oncoming generation, and its effects, more and more, will be manifest in the foreign offices and corporate boardrooms of our own, comparatively "developed" countries.

The second historical motion evidenced from the Nigeria-Biafra conflict—and of much more immediate consequence to the United States today—has to do with the sick currents and tides of our own racial conflicts. This may seem far-fetched to some people; but it deserves thought, because it exists. Caught up in this seemingly far-off West African issue is an aspect of America's own, present-day, cultural schizophrenia—namely, our "black nationalism" tendency (as manifested by the Black Muslims and various other, seemingly hard-line, militant groups) versus the somewhat belated tendency towards mainstreaming of the "American Negro." Or, what Daniel P. Moynihan calls our "new racialism" versus our old integrationism.

This is further complicated by the *supposed* pros and cons of "Black Power" as it affects both white and black, "liberals" and "lashers" alike, of both pigmentations. There are convolutions upon frustrating convolutions here of socio-economic, not to mention emotional, problems posed for the nation—whether "black nationalism," "Black Muslimism" or anti-white militancy, in fact, are more truly and intrinsically "black" (and, thus, culturally and intrinsically, somehow *truer*) than are "integration" or mainstreaming of our own, home-grown, Negro, black or whatever, citizenry. And, beyond this, whether mainstreaming and integration are possible only under a form of middle-class, consumer capitalism. And, whether the acceptance of black nationalism as a power to be reck-

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oned with in the land—whether ultimately "successful" or not—does not portend that someday there will be a splintering of "blacks" along "racialist" lines, which would drum back into a kind of respectability all the supposedly bypassed, ancient, "colonial" emphasis based on simplistic gradations of pigmentations, i.e., deviations away from "black," which is still to be found, under the surface, all over the "less-developed" world, not only in Africa, and not only in the not yet independent states.

Thus, you can see where this Nigeria-Biafra confrontation goes far beyond *being for* bringing sustenance to starving children in the bush or *being against* politically divisive tendencies (which have, somehow, wave-of-the-past connotations) in a recently sovereign state. Manifest here is the next big choice that, growingly, will be confronting us "Europeans" over the next generation—having to choose between those who are *more* "like us" as against those who are *less* "like us." This is a socio-economic Pandora's Box that is on the verge of springing open, and we ought to realize it. If this becomes complicated by stereotypes of "race," color and colonial hangovers, we will all be the losers—"us" and "them."

Standing among an historical people

ON BEING A CATHOLIC

MICHAEL NOVAK

"It is my thesis," Gregory Baum writes in *The Credibility of the Church Today, A Reply to Charles Davis* (Herder & Herder, $4.95), "that what Charles Davis describes as the ills of the institutional Church is an outline of the social pathology that threatens the Church and every institution in the world." Earlier he writes: "The crucial difference between Davis and myself lies in the evaluation of Vatican II. I regard Vatican II as an extraordinary institutional event in the life of the Church. . . . The present upheaval in the Church and the doctrinal uncertainty so widely spread are, according to my view, signs of the gradual process of re-interpreting the entire teaching of the Church in the light of the new focus."

As a direct reply to Charles Davis, Father Baum's book is disappointing; as an indirect reply and in its own right it is a good book, perhaps the best and most imaginative to come from Father Baum's hand. Charles Davis will, of course, offer his own rebuttal in his own name. But when I recall the arguments of *A Question of Conscience,* I wish that Baum had quoted Davis more often and taken up the steps of the argument singly and in detail. Instead, Baum changes the ground of the argument, elucidates a new standpoint and way of looking at the church, and for the most part sets forth his own interpretation of events without arguing with Davis. What we get is an interpretation to lay alongside an interpretation. We do not get much of an argument or much of a "reply."

It is open, moreover, for Davis to argue that Baum's interpretation, however common among liberal Catholics, does not represent the mainstream of Catholic life and theory; that Baum writes as if the Catholic should leap from St. John the Evangelist to Maurice Blondel while hardly pondering the embarrassments in between; that the "Oath against Modernism" is a better guide to official teaching than Baum's imaginings; that the "Syllabus of Errors" and all those papal encyclicals down to the present moment, not excluding the textbooks duly established in seminaries during the last five generations, represent a worldview astonishingly different from that proffered by Baum; that, in fine, Baum's view is attractive but unofficial, highly selective, and manifestly in conflict even with many texts from Vatican II.

The two interpretations, of course, require one another. And it is curious to see to what an extent the differences in interpretation are due to temperament, bent of mind, and standpoint. Davis is strong on "consistency" and "logic," and he is after his conversion what he was before: a good articulator of the logic *within* a certain viewpoint. He is not very good at seeing things from several different viewpoints, or at comparing viewpoints. Baum, by contrast, likes to talk about life rather than about theory, about dynamism rather than about static categories, about mystery rather than about logic, about living rather than about language. In a certain sense, Baum does not take written dogmas or received institutions with the finality that Davis does. When dogmas or institutions are out of line with the Christian Gospel, Davis seems shocked and Baum seems secretly pleased: both find their instinctive theories thereby confirmed.

Baum makes two chief contributions to our discourse about the meaning of the church. First, he distinguishes seven senses of the word "church" as employed in major documents of Vatican II; the seventh meaning he unseals is that "church" comes into being whenever men are reconciled and human community is furthered. Secondly,

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Baum notes that we must be careful concerning which sociological model we choose for "church," and he points out the serious deficiencies in using "city" or "state" as a model. His own proposal, that the most useful model is that of a voluntary association, "a movement," stimulates the imagination even though it is not quite convincing. A movement is characterized by a more or less tightly organized and professional center, plus a wide range of ways of belonging to it and assisting its purposes. But "a movement" does not quite suggest the solidity and age-old endurance we associate with "church." The word "people" might be a better model, with the endurance of the Jewish people even to the present day serving as a type. To be a Catholic, then, is not to belong to an organization; it is more like standing among an historical people. To be sure, the church is by intention and gradual development expected to become co-terminous with the good of the entire human community; that is to say, the church is intended to be expansible, to change often, to outgrow its earlier and more limited stages in order to be more worthy of man, who is made in the image of God.

Baum is also good in pointing out that the development of the church and its doctrine is not accurately thought of as organic and homogeneous; rather, it is marked by discontinuities and "quantum leaps." Happenings emerge which were not fully contained in their predecessors. Growth is not logical nor consistent, but surprising, sudden, and unsymmetrical.

The question which one continually encounters today, however, is whether the church has not outgrown itself; whether, in fact, the church as we have known it—local community of worship and larger organization—has not become dysfunctional precisely because it has been successful. It sometimes seems that all those values and ways of living and modes of responsiveness that Christian teachers constantly instruct us in, verbally and otherwise, appear to be so deeply rooted now in parts of our culture that they are accessible outside the churches, with less artificiality and less semantical and historical ambiguity. A passion for justice, a realism regarding power and achievement, honesty, brotherliness, gentleness, meditative prayer, joy, a sense of God's healing presence and other similar values are as open to non-Christians as to Christians. One does not have to go to church to learn them, to reinforce them, or to celebrate them. One might possibly—even probably—learn them more sharply, more concretely, and more limpidly outside the churches than within.

Between the Two

What shall we say, then, of the argument between Baum and Davis? One's response must inevitably reveal one's own identity; there is here no "objective" point of view, even in pretense. To my mind, Baum's judgment is a little too romantic, too steeped in biblical and liturgical images, too nourishing of a piety and an attitude and a way of life that seem to be less and less valid. When all is said and done, the most important tasks which Baum sets for the church are now thought of as secular tasks: the building of community, reconciliation, brotherhood. The religious language that Baum employs is now too frequently used as a language of domination and oppression: Christians who talk about "the servant church" seem to be used as a cover by a church which does relatively little to serve men, or even to accept the language of service. (Not to mention that paternalism is possibly implied in the language of service, anyway.)

On the other hand, the kind of orthodoxy argued for by Charles Davis and the "consistency" he loves so much have been hateful to me for so many years that to discuss them with patience is almost beyond me. I cannot bring myself to believe, emotionally, that Charles Davis first made his discoveries so recently. I seem to have had to fight my way out of those issues at so young an age, without help, that I can hardly bring myself to go over them once again. Once one has become convinced that the vast majority of the leaders of the Catholic Church, despite good will, have acquiesced in the mutilating of Christianity, one no longer takes them seriously. My faith as a Catholic does not depend on what the "social structure" of the Roman Church does or does not do. One's task is to assist, at least by a little, in changing that structure.

For to be a Catholic is to stand among an historical people. I cannot escape what I am. The task is to open up as many avenues toward an enlarged human sense as possible, to get outside the walls of parochialism and narrowness, to live out in one's own experiences new ways of being a Catholic, to appropriate as many new and diverse experiences as possible in one's own name and thus in the name of one's people. The task is to expand Catholicism to the dimensions of a new humanity, a humanity suggested in Jesus Christ and revealed also (though ambiguously) in every event in history. One can, I find, safely forget ecclesiastical language and concentrate upon the rich humanism of the American tradition. Yet even in this concentration, the community established by one's historical people comes as a blessed aid; for not everything American is holy, nor everything modern sane.

Five years ago, Baum, Davis and I were once linked as similar spirits; events show that each of us has had to find his own way through our difficult time. Davis says he is "outside" the church, but remains a "disaffiliated Christian." Baum thinks of himself as a professional, Catholic theologian, in a "movement" rather than an organization, attempting to give all the doctrines, attitudes and ways of life of Catholics a new focus in a new age. I ply my trade as a sometime philosopher, sometime theologian, deriving nourishment wherever I find it, having precious little to do with the organized church, feeling somehow both blessed and cursed in finding myself a

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Catholic, both blessed and cursed in finding myself an American. My main focus is not the church, but what it is to be alive in our time. Still, the Catholic people are the ever-present background of what I do. I cannot think without roots. My roots are Catholic. Catholicism, it remains to be shown, is not obstructive to one's development as a man.

BEETHOVEN, MOZART ET AL.

RECORDS

The state of inner illumination and superearthly exaltation that Beethoven communicates so overwhelmingly in the expansively elaborating variation movement of the Piano Sonata Op. 111, he communicates as overwhelmingly in another expansively elaborating variation movement, remarkably different in substance and style—that of the String Quartet Op. 132. The occasion to speak of it is the new performance by the Quartetto Italiano on a Philips stereo record. The Italiano is the one European peer of the Budapest and New Music Quartets in the past, and the Guarneri today, in technical virtuosity, tonal beauty, ensemble operation, and musical sensitiveness and taste. In its first years its performances of Mozart and Beethoven were excessively finicky; but the development of its musical understanding since then was revealed a year ago in a superb performance of Schubert's tremendous *Death and the Maiden* Quartet; and it operates with equally impressive effect now in Beethoven's Op. 132—the performance being unquestionably the finest now available on records. Bass must be turned up for the cello to be heard more adequately.

I missed Glenn Gould's Public Broadcast Laboratory demonstration last spring of the inferiority of late to early Mozart; but someone reported on it to me: "He'd play something marvelous from the Piano Concerto K.491 and say, 'Nothing there. Arid. Mechanical clichés like inter-office memos.' " This was the more astonishing since Gould some years ago had considered K.491 worth playing, and had recorded a performance, recently withdrawn, which is worth hunting for, since no other on records is as excitingly powerful. Certainly Clifford Curzon's new performance with the London Symphony under Kertesz, on a London stereo record, is not; nor is Curzon more effective in the Concerto K.488 on the reverse side: for a properly high-spirited realization of the incandescent perpetuum mobile finale one must acquire Gieseking's performance on the Columbia record. And Gieseking's is also the performance of K.491 I would recommend.

The late Guido Cantelli's performance of Debussy's *La Mer* with the Philharmonia Orchestra has been issued here for the first time on a Seraphim mono record, together with the previously issued performances of *Nuages* and *Fêtes* and the *Prélude à L'Aprés-midi d'une faune* that have been unavailable. The *La Mer* is the only performance that can stand comparison with Toscanini's, which it resembles in its unfailing continuity and organic coherence, its clarity of outline, texture and structure, its precision of execution and sonority, but from which it also differs: as against the powerful tension of Toscanini's performance, Cantelli's has the appearance of assuming its emerging shape in sound without human effort, in its own world of quiet and serenity; and there are differences in details of tempo and inflection which reveal Cantelli as someone with a mind and taste of his own. The performances of the other pieces are of the same distinguished quality. As for sound, *Fêtes,* the *Faune* piece and *La Mer* need much additional bass, and the last two need reduction of treble.

Julian Bream and the Cremona String Quartet offer, on an RCA Victor stereo record, excellent performances of a Quintet in E minor for guitar and strings by the engagingly individual Luigi Boccherini, and the pleasant early Quartet Op. 2 No. 2 of Haydn arranged for guitar and strings. In addition Bream and the harpsichordist George Malcolm play an arrangement of the attractive opening fandango movement of Boccherini's String Quintet Op. 50 No. 2.

Reissued on Turnabout stereo records are Peter Frankl's excellent performances of all of Chopin's Polonaises, including a few uninteresting products of his student years, in addition to the mature works that have some of his most beautiful and—in Op. 40 No. 2, Op. 44 and Op. 53—his grandest writing.

The performance of Mozart's Mass in C minor on two Vanguard stereo records—in which Jean-Marie Auberson conducts the Vienna State Opera Chorus and Orchestra, Maria Stader, Nedda Casei, Waldemar Kmentt and Heinz Rehfuss—is not clear in texture, and completes the uncompleted work with sections from other works of Mozart. I therefore suggest instead the better performance of the uncompleted work with no additions on the Angel record.

Beecham's superb performance of Berlioz's *Te Deum* with the Royal Philharmonic, the London Philharmonic Choir and Alexander Young is reissued on an Odyssey record with electronically produced pseudo-stereo sound which requires reduction of treble and is without bass unless one can add it with one's bass control.

Bass must be added in the same way to the similarly produced pseudo-stereo sound of the performance of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* reissued on World Series records; but with their low price it is worth acquiring for the singing years ago of Sena Jurinac (Donna Elvira), George London (Don Giovanni), Leopold Simoneau (Don Ottavio) and Graziella Sciutti (Zerlina), if one already has

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the great performance conducted by Giulini on Angel records.

For the comedy of *La Fille du Régiment* Donizetti doesn't provide writing as good as that of *Don Pasquale* and *L'Elisir d'Amore;* but his lyrical gift produces two beautiful arias for the title role, and there is a charming trio in the second act. In the performance conducted by Bonynge on London stereo records Joan Sutherland offers her spectacular singing of florid passages rising to high D's and E-flats; but her singing of the arias suffers from the fact that her voice hasn't the warmth and luster they call for.

A Victor stereo record with "highlights" from the complete *La Traviata* conducted by Prêtre enables one to enjoy the singing of Caballé, Bergonzi and Sherrill Milnes in the principal arias and duets in which Prêtre's conducting does less damage than in the other parts of the opera —though it permits Caballé's own occasional distentions of phrase to the point of distortion. B. H. HAGGIN

THE BACKWARD LOOK

THE SCREEN

Maybe it isn't a trend yet, but it does seem that all our musical movies (except the Beatles' opuses) are set in the past. A couple of weeks ago Barbra Streisand came on with a bang in "Funny Girl" to show us Fanny Brice and the first decades of this century. Now two more films with songs and dances are with us: the 1947 "Finian's Rainbow" and "Star!" which covers some 40 years in the life of Gertrude Lawrence. This backward look in musical pictures is nothing new; most of them in recent years have avoided the present: "My Fair Lady," "The Happiest Millionaire," "Half a Sixpence,' "Camelot." Perhaps the old costumes are prettier and the subject matters safer.

When "Finian's Rainbow" appeared on the stage and became a tremendous hit 20 years ago, its subject matter was by no means sure-fire safe. Along with its fantasy-story set in Missitucky about an Irishman who stole a pot of gold from a leprechaun and comes to America with his daughter where he hopes to plant the pot near Fort Knox and watch it grow into a fortune, this musical comedy had several daring (for then) themes about Southern racism, integration and prejudice. It also had a lot of delightful humor and catchy songs. In filming this unusual musical play, which was so successful abroad as well in the States, producer Joseph Landon and scriptwriters E. Y. Harburg and Fred Saidy, who also wrote the original play, decided, wisely no doubt, not to update it. So much has happened along racial lines in the past 20 years that modernizing the old "Finian's Rainbow" would have meant re-writing it completely—and it wouldn't have been "Finian's Rainbow" at all. As it stands, the film is an old-fashioned musical comedy—somewhat stagey, but with a good cast, a lot of corny charm, and all those wonderful songs provided by Burton Lane's music and Harburg's clever lyrics.

Perhaps it *is* nostalgia that makes us warm up to Fred Astaire, who is no longer the svelte and debonair leading man of the 1933 "Flying Down to Rio," but is still a lovable and graceful Fred Astaire and perfect as that sly rogue Finian, father of Sharon, chaser of rainbows, and imaginative thief who steals a pot of gold. As his daughter, Petula Clark is not only pretty as a picture but in fine voice as she sings—alone or with Don Francks as her liberal southern suitor on whose property blacks and whites live happily together. Although Tommy Steele characteristically overacts at first as the leprechaun who comes to regain his stolen pot of gold, director Francis Ford Coppola tones him down as the picture advances, and by the time Tommy sings "When I'm Not Near the Girl I Love," he is in top form, and his dance to this number with the mute girl (pretty Barbara Hancock) is a joy.

I wish director Coppola had given his movie more of these joys. Certainly the music, with songs like "That Old Devil Moon," "How Are Things in Glocca Morra?" "If This Isn't Love" and the others, is joyous; but while some of the numbers are done well, too many of them are done to kids running through fields without much sense of dance or rhythm. Coppola was by no means hampered by the racist themes, however, and while they seem a bit old-hat now, they are still effective, especially in the integration scenes that get over the point without preaching and in the humorous business, when the stuffy judge (well played by Keenan Wynn) is turned into a Negro by Sharon, or in the brilliant burlesque done by Al Freeman, Jr., as an old-fashioned black servant. I wish on the whole "Finian's Rainbow" had been better, but I enjoyed it as is—nostalgia and all.

Even more nostalgic for me was "Star!" with its memories of Gertrude Lawrence and all the good times she provided on the stage through the years. Furthermore I

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think Julie Andrews is at her very best in this picture that (like "Funny Girl") is not a complete biography but a series of incidents in a life. The screenplay was written by William Fairchild from articles, clippings and bits of Miss Lawrence's diary. Unfortunately the story is at times rather slight—as if it could not all be told. Gertrude turns out to be a rather unhappy self-centered person whose gaiety is a cover-up for loneliness.

Although "Star!" is too long (165 minutes), I wouldn't have its production numbers cut. They were staged by Michael Kidd and are fine—and if I had my way, I'd have more of them and less of the almost colorless plot. Excelling with Miss Andrews, who is tireless as the famous Gertie, is Daniel Massey, whose impersonation of Noel Coward deserves an Oscar. This was no easy role, and Massey has caught Coward's inflections and mannerisms to perfection. Nostalgia does take over in the film as the Andrews' Gertrude Lawrence sings "Limehouse Blues," "Someone To Watch Over Me," "Do, Do, Do" and best of all, the picture's big finale, "Jenny." Robert Wise's direction is good throughout and I have no doubt but that the hordes who flocked to "Sound of Music" will flock again. This is a better musical picture. So flock.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

W.E.B. Du Bois: perhaps the most important black in American intellectual history

Autobiography

W. E. B. DU BOIS

International, $10

RICHARD KOSTELANETZ

Only rare men are so important that their lives demand autobiographies; and even fewer live, as well as remain important, so long that, like William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, their career occasions not one, not two, but three book-length autobiographies: *Darkwater,* published in 1920, when Du Bois was fifty-two; *Dusk at Dawn,* published exactly two decades later (and recently reissued in a Schocken paperback); and the recent *Autobiography* which appears slightly less than five years after his death, at the age of 95, in Ghana.

Blessed with exceptional intelligence and abundant energy, he was, first of all, perhaps the most important Negro in American intellectual history, not only for his sustained influence on Negroes' thinking about their social problems but also for his pioneering contributions to the scientific study of society, as in his prodigious one-man study of *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) (recently reissued by Schocken Books) and to American historiography, such as his equally imposing study of *Black Reconstruction* (1935), now available as a Meridian paperback. Very much a literary gent, Du Bois was continually writing—books, articles, reviews, polemics, editorials and even poems—about a spectrum of racial subjects for all sorts of media. Writing became such an instinctive response to his own experience that even situations that would render most of us speechless, such as the death of an only son or a riot in one's home town, became occasions for his most stunning essays.

The Autobiography is largely a personal record, neither modest nor egotistical, neither too distant nor particularly intimate, of an extraordinary American career. Born exactly a century ago in Great Barrington, Mass., Du Bois was of French, Dutch and West Indian ancestry; and not only did his birthplace contain fewer than a hundred Negroes, but part of his family had lived there as freemen for two hundred years. Du Bois' father absconded soon after his birth, leaving his middle-aged mother in charge of her single son. A domestic for most of her years, she inculcated a sense of "excellence in accomplishment" that, even though she died just after his high school graduation, Du Bois never forgot; around that time he initiated a lifelong custom of annotating his personal papers.

He went to Fisk University and then Harvard, where he became the first member of his race to earn a doctoral degree; then he received a fellowship for graduate study in Berlin.

He sustained certain long friendships, particularly with the Negro educator John Hope and his white NAACP colleague Joel Spingarn; yet he was so much more a man of work than acquaintance that few other people assume major proportions in his story. Indeed, this memoir suggests that perhaps he identified less with the Negro-American people, from whom he felt something of an alien's distance, than with their struggle against adversity and discrimination, a struggle analogous to his own as a brilliant, honest, idealistic and persevering intellectual.

As a very professional writer, Du Bois was enough of a hack to lift whole passages verbatim from the earlier memoir, *Dusk at Dawn;* still, *The Autobiography* is in crucial respects a different book. Late in the '40s, as his intellectual influence suffered a perhaps inevitable decline, Du Bois gravitated toward the Communist Party; this explains why certain critical remarks about Communism and Communists that he made in the earlier book are expunged from its successor. In 1950, he accepted the Progressive Party's nomination to be their New York candidate for the U.S. Senate. This drift was sealed by his marriage in 1951 to the popular biographer Shirley Graham, who collaborated with him in writing *In Battle for Peace* (1952) and is perhaps responsible for the noticeable simplification of his for-

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merly ornate and scholarly prose style.

Much in Du Bois' history from this point becomes faintly embarrassing. Largely because the U.S. State Department denied him a passport, his Communist friends around the world portrayed him as a martyr, a role for which such an indomitable and successful figure was distinctly unsuited; yet Du Bois responded by toeing the line so well that this book contains a shockingly lame justification for the 1956 Soviet repression of Hungary. Once judicial decision awarded him a passport, Du Bois(then 90 years old, traveled to the Communist countries, collecting honorary degrees and even a Lenin Peace Prize; and though he previously opposed all movements "back to Africa" and did not visit that continent until 1923, when he was 55, Du Bois in 1961 accepted Nkrumah's invitation to settle in Ghana, becoming a carpetbagging eminence in a foreign land and eventually assuming Ghanian citizenship. When Nkrumah was deposed, Mrs. Du Bois hurriedly left the country, reportedly losing the original draft of this autobiography but later salvaging a rough photocopy that became this book.

All this explains the delay in *The Autobiography's* appearance, as well as the book's sponsorship by International Publishers, also noted for its editions of Marx, Lenin and Herbert Aptheker. As has happened before, Communists courted and converted a figure whose influence had waned considerably, lending him an appreciative audience in exchange for deference and eventually membership. Even worse, the organization now carrying Du Bois' name has little relation to the history, complexity and perspicacity of his actual ideas and personal example.

Both his thought and activity were riddled by severe contradictions, which this book expresses, rather than understands. Over the years, Du Bois espoused two opposed positions, wavering between them—one favoring Negro self-segregation from the white community (the idea of a black belt of states that the Communists adopted in the '30s), the other favoring the classic NAACP idea of aggressive integration.

More important, Du Bois was a smallish man who cut a rather aristocratic figure, reportedly never appearing in public without his cane and gloves, always confronting his audiences with a prepared text in hand, and asking the world to address him as "Burghardt," rather than the more mundane "Bill" or "Ed." Not only was he too proud to be swayed by the pieties of his following or intentionally commit any act that might land him in jail, but his well-known theory of "the talented tenth" could be regarded as an egotistic extension of his own experience and achievement. On the other hand, Du Bois also had enough ambition for mass support to let personal pique cloud his political principles, becoming terribly envious of Marcus Garvey's influence in the '20s, even though he never quite realized that his own and the NAACP's hauteur were in part responsible for Garvey's success. In retrospect, one could conjecture that perhaps Du Bois' personal style kept him from the popular and reverential influence that was Martin Luther King's.

The irony is that Du Bois' own waverings on both these points still plague much Negro thinking and activity, perhaps in part because of his immense influence upon the older intellectuals and protest leaders. In that case, one might suggest that Du Bois' inability to overcome his own parochialism is at least partly responsible for the confusions of today.

Nonetheless, *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois* is an important book, informed, like Malcolm X's memoir, by the American theme of personal possibility and disciplined accomplishment in spite of racial prejudice and social disadvantage. For even though each had opportunities and experiences the other lacked, both were men of words, whose abilities with language served their activism and bestowed them with power; both knew how language could persuade an audience, as well as dramatize the integrity and purpose of their own lives.

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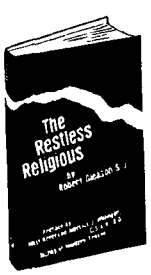

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WILLIAM McBRIEN

In 1945, Kay Boyle, the American novelist and poet, found herself back in Paris as a war correspondent and being reminded by a pal from the '20s that "McAlmon was the third corner in every triangle and I wanted you to do something about him then, but I didn't know how to tell you what I meant. . . . All I could tell you was . . . that McAlmon had been exploited, betrayed, neglected, deceived, and imitated beyond recognition, but anyway preyed on by the vultures of the writing world,

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REVIEWERS

RICHARD KOSTELANETZ co-authored *The New American Arts* (Horizon), and edited *Beyond Left and Right* (Morrow).

WILLIAM MCBRIEN, a previous contributor, is a member of the English Department at Hofstra University.

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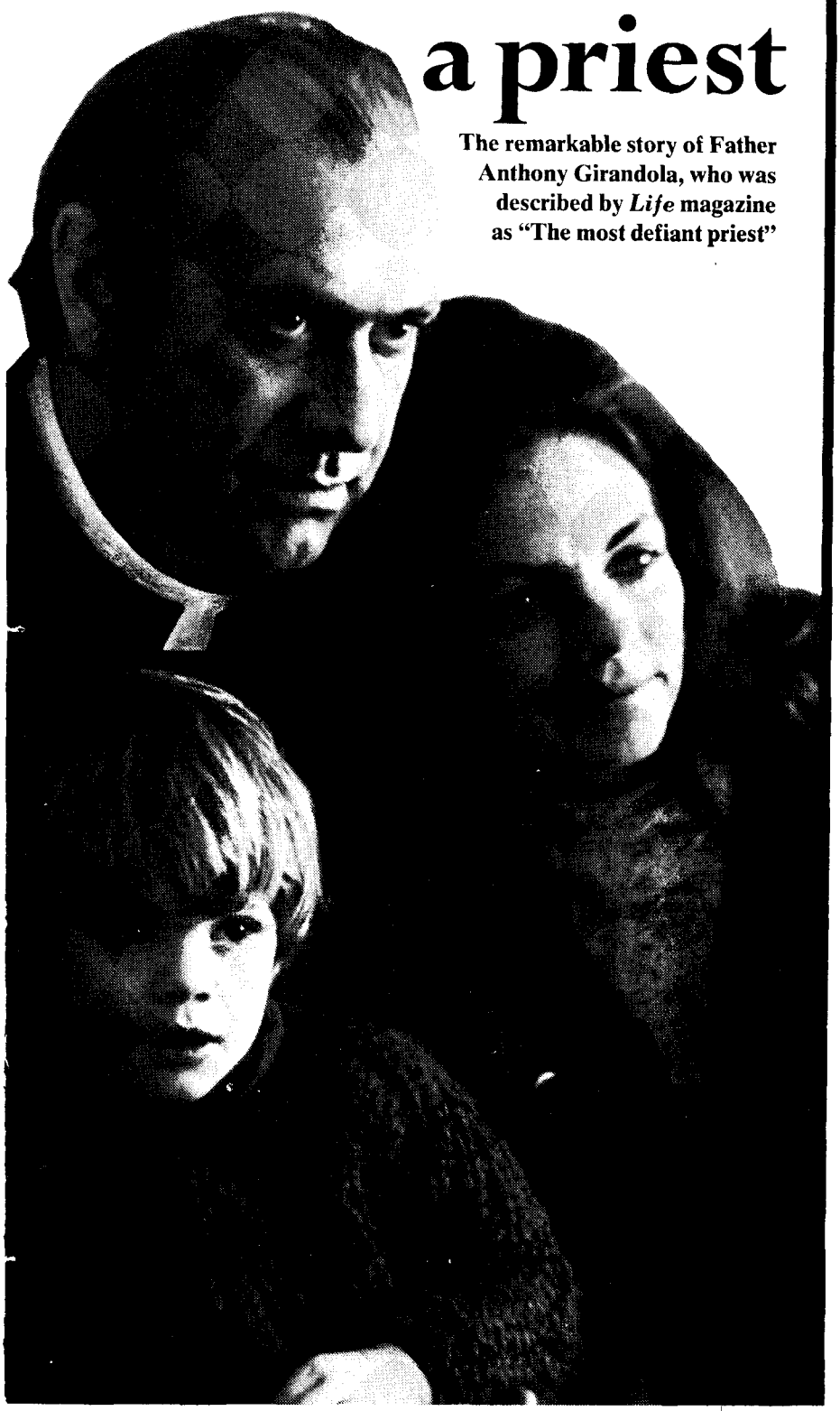
The priest who married and remained a priest

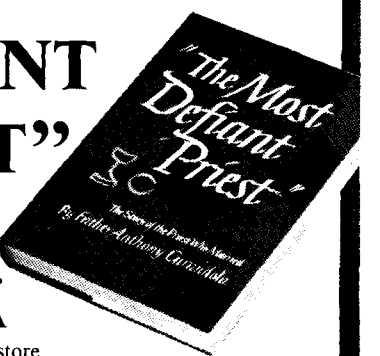
The remarkable story of Father Anthony Girandola, who was described by *Life* magazine as "The most defiant priest"



- He married but, unlike all priests before him, refused to give up his priesthood, adhering to the Biblical canon "Thou art a priest forever"
- He implemented this position by opening a church (St. Dismas Church) in St. Petersburg, Florida, the first and only church for ex-communicated Catholics
- He strenuously advocates birth control and abolishment of the celibacy dogma
- He proposes a general confession of sin by the congregation, reserving private confession for those in genuine need, to whom the priest can devote an adequate amount of time in the privacy of his office
- He advocates stringent reforms of the Catholic parochial schools
- He suggests that nuns deprived of "the naturalness of marriage" develop unhealthy psychosexual substitutes
- He wishes to open a "halfway house" to help other priests make the difficult transition from the sheltered priesthood to the world of the layman
- He challenges the Church's position on excommunication for divorce, showing the unnecessary suffering it causes and how it drives many faithful believers from the Church

The foregoing are a few of the major "defiances" of Father Anthony Girandola, the courageous American priest who has become the symbol of radical Catholic reform. Father Girandola, who remains a devout Catholic, stresses that his quarrels are with Church practice, not doctrine. He feels that if the Church is to survive it must change . . . and that it can change only if men of quality and conviction refuse either to leave it or to leave it alone. "The Most Defiant Priest" is a story of stirring humanity and will be of interest not only to Catholics, but to people of all faiths who are concerned about the conflicting forces in organized religion today.

"THE MOST DEFIANT PRIEST"



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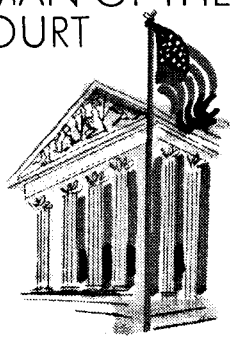

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and I wanted you to take it up from there."

Kay Boyle only recently honored the memory of a friendship by editing and arranging *The Autobiography of Emanuel Carnevali,* a book of stirring human witness. The rewards of reading Robert McAlmon are fewer, nor does the book quite fulfill the publisher's claim for it as "a marvelously evocative dialogue between two friends, a haunting counterpoint."

McAlmon wrote *Being Geniuses Together* in 1934 and treated in it his life from 1920 to 1934. It was subsequently published in 1938. Kay Boyle said of the book that those who were there found it "the most candid and knowledgeable record of the literary argiebargies of that time." Although McAlmon's books are out-of-print and unread, she feels that it was he "who, in liberating himself from genteel language and thought, spoke for his generation in a voice that echoes, unacknowledged, in the prose of Hemingway and that of other writers of his time." And so Kay Boyle has again devoted herself to resurrecting a literary friend with a gallantry that seems rare among writers. She has shortened the original work to cover the period 1920-1930, and made in some cases restorations from the typescript which were changed in the published version. Alternate chapters which she supplies recount her experiences during these years and points at which her life touched McAlmon's.

Of those to whom McAlmon's name means anything at all, most probably identify him as the husband of Bryher, that refined Imagist novelist whose own memoirs, published as *The Heart To Artemis,* are a model of their kind. McAlmon married Bryher, daughter of a British shipping tycoon, in 1920, and they were divorced in 1927. In her autobiography Bryher wrote:

"I had happened to meet a young American writer, Robert McAlmon, who was full of enthusiasm for modern writing. He wanted to go to Paris to meet Joyce but lacked the passage money. I put my problem before him and suggested that if we married, my family would leave me alone. I would give him part of my allowance, he would join me for occasional visits to my parents, but otherwise we would live strictly separate lives . . . It never occurred to me at the time that there was anything irregular in my suggestion."

Profiles are among the most interesting parts of McAlmon's writing: Bryher and her family, as one might expect, come off badly, though the passion engendered in McAlmon by them livens up his pages considerably. Among writers McAlmon portrays, Wyndham Lewis emerges as paranoiac and shamelessly self-seeking and Eliot, as a snob, "a butler to the arts." Of a Hemingway story, McAlmon wrote, "I find it a stunt and very artificial, and I do not believe his mind works that way at all. I think he's a very good businessman, a publicity seeker, who looks ahead and calculates, and uses rather than wonders about people."

Gertrude Stein's work is dismissed as "the arrested-development thought of a grown person still repeating again and again, as does a child." Here, and in speaking of the "sluggishness" of Miss Stein's idiom—a quality the Picasso portrait accents—McAlmon reveals, at least obliquely, some critical acuity. He was, from the start, unimpressed by Hemingway and followed instead what has proved to be the richer vein of William Carlos Williams. ("It's hard to select one out of Bill's many books to comment on, because he is a force, an influence, a direction, and a sensibility in American literature rather than the mere author of 'books.'") McAlmon learned from Williams "to listen for the sound of the poet's voice speaking out in the climate and the setting of every day." Elsewhere, with admirable discrimination, he describes Sandburg as a writer who "mixed Whitman humanitarianism with advertising and newspaper headline imagism . . . not so near 'the soul of poetry' as many a backwoods philosopher or cowboy narrating a yarn."

McAlmon addresses contemporary Joyceniks with a sense that is terribly timely, "It is the emotional and sensitive rather than the erudite tour-de-force aspects which give Joyce's writ-

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ing the greatness it possesses." Kay Boyle quotes, too, the delicious remarks of Nora Joyce to Maria Jolas, " 'To tell ye th' thruth, m'dear', she said, 'I was never very much inthrested in me husband's work.' " The portraits of Dorothy Richardson are unique and of interest as are those of Raymond Duncan, the Princess of Sarawak, Bricktop and others who contributed to the legend of Paris in the 20's.

Why, though, is it that Paris between the Wars is less and less compelling to consider? Have Gertrude Stein, Malcolm Cowley, Callaghan, Elliot Paul, Sylvia Beach, Williams and Virgil Thompson by their more or less brilliant books about that time, contributed to our satiety? Or can it be that Americans are in a post-exilic period when flight to the Boul' Mich, despite the recent action there, seems drearily *hors de combat?* "Paris in the 1920's was where the geniuses and the genius-collectors were," says the publisher's blurb; we feel that this is only partly so (neither Faulkner nor Wallace Stevens was there), though certainly no American scene has ever witnessed a circle that sizzled so with imagination and style. Humor, though, seems to have been lacking, along with other humane qualities that develop in persons we consider relatively grown-up. Robert McAlmon characterizes more writers than Gertrude Stein when he says that she "had already been the repeating child, and Sherwood Anderson had injected 'soul' and highfalutin sensibility into the hearts of childish boobs." And Kay Boyle notices about the decade of the '20s in France that "It may appear to have been a time without much humor in the *avant-garde* literary movement, but it must be remembered that it was a time of the gravest crisis in letters, of furious schism and revolution in the arts . . . And, it being a time of peril, gravity was demanded of writers who fought against the sentence of death, of oblivion . . . in the ancient strongholds of the established conventional forms."

McAlmon had more than a share of the childishness which he, along with nearly every reader, later found so intolerable in Hemingway ("the hurt-child-being-brave tone," he calls it in Hemingway). Kay Boyle's is always the fiercer voice, somewhere between Millay and Akhmatova but leaning toward the latter in such sentences as this: "Was it only because there was no longer any need for me to polish a floor . . . or draw the threads from the inner seams of a man's jacket so as to weave his trousers or his coat like new—was it because I was deprived of these humble, daily acts that I could no longer give order and dignity to my nights and days?"

Rebecca West was from the start one of her life-models and she quotes here Wells' words about Miss West and her novel, *The Judge*: "It was her way of beginning life again. It was her way of going on." The candor and self-forgetfulness of which Kay Boyle is capable and her passionate response to the human predicament give to what she says originality and charge. She quotes in this work Camus' statement that "the

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artist's life is a search for the way back to the few simple truths he knew at the beginning." For Kay Boyle that search has often meant a hard time. McAlmon's words were once a map for her:

Oh, let me gather myself together.
Where are the pieces
quivering and staring and muttering
that are all to be a part of me?

Now it is she, rather than he, who convinces us again that finding the right words can help a man to summon himself and save his soul. It seems a good idea, tandem or not, that Kay Boyle, in reissuing *Being Geniuses Together*, decided to come along for the ride.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 139)

point of view could have had at least one representative. . . . [*Ed. Note: as in the case of most symposiums of this ad hoc character, not all who were invited were able or chose to participate. Among those who did not, in this case, were five persons whose views on this issue might have been expected to be "conservative" in character.*]

2. The illogic of your attack on Cardinal O'Boyle in "News and Views" is flagrant. The Cardinal has made it quite clear that he has disciplined the priests because they publicly (one might even say noisily) refused to accept the teaching of the vicar of Christ, and, as official representatives of the Church, insisted upon teaching their own private conclusions rather than and opposed to those of the Pope. Had any group of priests made a similar public protest against any of the social teachings of the Pope, it is clear from Cardinal O'Boyle's conduct in this matter that he would have responded in the same way. The overemphasis on sexual morality seems then to rest on the dissident priests rather than on the Cardinal.

3. Tragically lacking in any of the contributions is any advertence to the role of faith in accepting or rejecting any teaching of Christ's vicar. Perhaps this is not surprising since most of the writers are editors, communications experts, sociologists, philosophers, etc.; yet on the other hand I believe they all profess to be Catholics. In any case, the Holy Father never expected that his word would be accepted because it is sociologically most sound or philosophically most reasonable or communicated in the best manner; rather, one accepts it simply because he believes that Christ meant what He said: "You are Peter and upon this rock I shall build My Church . . . Whatever you bind on earth will be bound also in Heaven." It is the height of absurdity to say that Cardinal O'Boyle believes the Holy Father is "the only one capable of having a mature conscience." Cardinal O'Boyle and all other Catholics who follow the papal teaching would have to be fools to place such confidence in any one *man*—but not when the confidence is based on Christ's word. We are free, certainly, to accept His word or not—but we cannot be free to accept it only when we happen to understand and agree with it, and to call this faith.

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4. Finally, although these are by no means my only reactions to the articles, Father Greeley is on very uncertain ground when he proposes Saint Thomas More as our model because he "cooled it." It is true that he avoided confrontation as long as he could, but when it inevitably came, as it must for any conscientious man, the decisive factor which informed his conscience, as it must that of every true Catholic, was the word of Christ's vicar. Rather than dissent from *that*, he went to his death.

SISTER THERESE AQUINAS

Black Nun Power

New York

To the Editors: In reading the article, "A Cry for Black Nun Power," [Sept. 27] a few corrections and clarifications are in order. I am not a member of the Society of the Divine Word, but a Harlem-born, raised, and lived priest of the Archdiocese of New York. I am not pastor of St. Francis de Sales parish in Indianapolis, but am in residence there while completing a two-year scholarship in sociology and broadcasting. Those mistakes may well have shattered the S.V.D.'s provincial and the Archbishop of Indianapolis.

The remarks of mine that were quoted might lead to the belief that I want all whites excluded from the black ghettos and that they can no longer be helpers of blacks. In the present context, such a conclusion would be impractical. Moreover, I believe there must be some white presence in the black community as there is a need for more real black presence in the white community. To be valid, this white presence in the black community must accept new attitudes. It must further accept a change from the long assumed role of leader of and spokesman for the black community to helper, learner, and follower of black leadership. If white people can accept real black leadership, they have a place. If they cannot, let them leave peaceably.

Incidentally, such views can be had in my nationally syndicated column, The Black Voice. . . .

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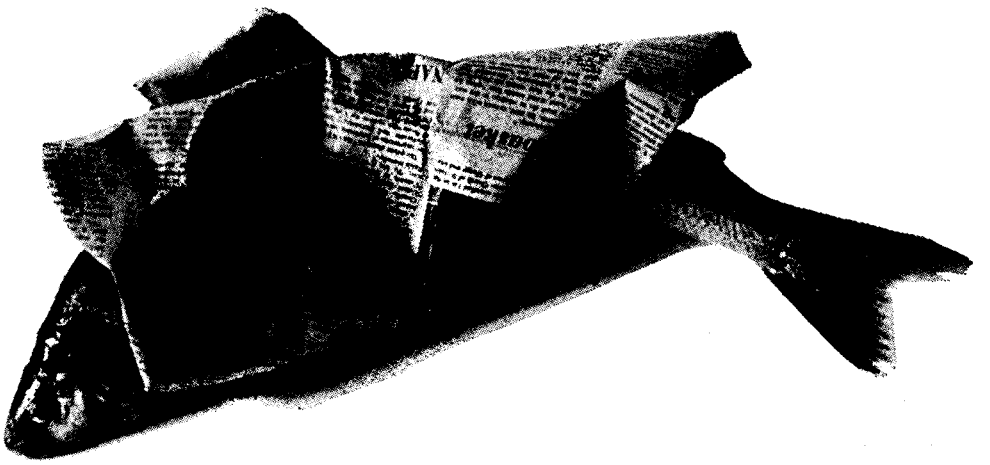

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